

PA.SO.K. 1974 - 1985

THE TRANSFORMATIONS
OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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A B S T R A C T

This Thesis is a study of the phenomenon of PA.SO.K.- a political movement- which managed through a discourse without concrete class connotation to become hegemonic within a period of seven years from its founding in 1974 and to maintain hegemony in 1985.

Employing the concept of articulatory -hegemonic practices an attempt is made to analyse, pinpoint and understand the transformations of PA.SO.K.'s discourse during the two periods 1974-1981 and 1981-85, when conventionally we close the discourse, emphasising the changes in the meaning of its component elements, their relations to the elements of the other discourses within the conjuncture and the transforming articulations between them.

It is argued that the intelligibility of the discourse is revealed by the exhaustive mapping of the emergence of the interrelations of its key elements; that the continuous construction of the discourse has been found in a reciprocal relation to the events of the conjuncture and the opposed articulatory practices of the other Parties; and each element has acquired its meaning both by its opposition to one or more antithetical concepts and its position within the concrete discourse. It is also argued that gaining hegemony in 1981, as much as its maintainance with small loss in 1985, was the result of the degree of coherence of PA.SO.K.'s discourse in combination with the weakness of the practices of the other Parties.

Within this framework of analysis the State and Education are examined as elements of a concrete discourse. Their identities are a correlation of this articulation and the relation between them, far from being a determined one, is the consequence of the articulatory-hegemonic practices within the conjuncture. It is argued that in and through PA.SO.K.'s articulatory practices the degree of socialization of education became greater and, consequently, so did its autonomy from the other branches of the state, compared with that it had acquired in the 1974-81 period within New Democracy's discourse.

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PA.SO.K. 1974 - 1985

THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE

INTRODUCTION

In the period that positivism, essentialism and rationalism have, in the positive sciences, been shaken to their very foundations mainly through the prevalence of the theories of relativity and indeterminacy in physics and that of probabilities in mathematics, it would also be unthinkable and dangerous for these currents of thought to prevail in the field of social sciences. Kuhn and Popper, Heidegger and Gadamer, Wittgenstein and Lacan, Foucault and Castoriades, Laclau and Mouffe are among those who have connected their names to decisive movements against such naive positivist-rationalist currents of thought which are responsible for the creation of closed theoretical systems, unable to include in their analytical and explanatory model the multiplicity and plurality of today's social problems. PA.SO.K.'s tumultuous and spectacular development and the fact that it gained hegemony through a discourse promising social change without concrete class connotation justifies our preference for it as an object of empirical study, on the one hand, and an approach to it on the basis of contemporary radical sociological requirements on the

other. Thus, in this study we will try to analyse and explain P.A.S.O.K.'s rise to and retention of power from its appearance in 1974 to 1985, and to specify the relationship between state and education during the period when P.A.S.O.K. governed Greece, in terms of the concept of hegemony or a radicalised concept of discourse.

In the first part of our study we will try to construct our theoretical-methodological model having accepted that the closed theoretical systems of a sutured society, which perpetuate dichotomies, are unable to support this approach. For that reason our theoretical underpinnings are the radical approaches to society which consider it an open practical totality. More concretely we accept what Laclau calls "the constitutive character of difference" in the sense that the identity of each social element and the character of any existing social coherence is neither fixed nor pregiven but is rather the result of concrete historical constructions.

Having said that the key concept in this study is hegemony or a radicalized concept of discourse we will refer critically to the developments of the concept of hegemony from Gramsci to Poulantzas and Laclau-Mouffe and its implications for the relationship between state and education. We have adopted the latter's radical reconceptualizations of the concepts of hegemony, overdetermination and subject. We have also been influenced by Foucault, Wickham, Minson and supporters of collective action as regards the concepts of discourse, strategies, practices

and organization.

With regard to the methodological approach to the state, we have also been influenced by Jessop, who focussed on the form and the function of the state. Finally, we have included in our theoretical model the concept of tactics.

According to this model the state and the different state apparatuses have a discursive constitution, and the degree of concentration of their power just as much as their autonomy and their role and function depend on antagonistic articulatory practices within the conjuncture. This is where the difference in our approach from that of the traditional debates about state and education is situated. The state has previously been approached as having a unified character, an essential identity and a pregiven form and function. In these debates, education has been apprehended more or less similarly. A "discourse theoretical approach" having as a point of departure the multiplicity, multicausality and the discursive constitution of social identities approaches the state and education not in terms of an "instrument", "subject" or "foundation" but in terms of a contingent social logic; or, in other words, in terms of a system of relations which are established between an ensemble of heterogeneous elements in and through articulatory practices. Through this approach the question of change acquires a central position. Instead of a static reflection, correspondence or reproduction which discourages interest in transformative activity, the challenge to participation in

continuous efforts of totalization of the social in and through discursive practices is evident.

In the second part of our study we will analyse and explain how through its discourse PA.SO.K. was elevated to hegemony during the period 1974-1981 and how it maintained this in the 1985 elections. We will also specify the relationship between state and education as it appeared in the pregovernmental period and as it was shaped in the 1981-1985 governmental period.

More concretely, in the first chapter of the second part (period 1974-81) we will refer to the construction of the meaning of the key elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse and we will examine how this construction took place, through the articulatory practices with which PA.SO.K. tried to respond to the events of the conjuncture, creating oppositions to the discourses of the other parties. We will argue that, through these articulatory practices, the key elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse acquired new meanings, enriched and attractive, which gave the discourse coherence and unbreakable unity and elevated it to hegemonic status. Furthermore, we will analyse the practices in the field of state, economy and education through which their identities are modified. Analysing these practices we will argue that the relationship between them and the degree of their autonomy is specified by institutional mechanisms of popular participation which regulate their socialisation or the greater participation of the people in decision-making.

In the second chapter of the second part we will remark the differences, which have been noted in the various elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse during the governmental period 1981-1985, as the result of its concrete articulatory practices within the concrete conjuncture. We will argue that a shift of the weight in PA.SO.K.'s discourse took place from the emphasis on the vision of the socialist transformation to the course of its realization; and that the differentiations noted in the elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse, even though they modified their meaning, did not finally create great schisms within PA.SO.K.'s discourse, thus causing its hegemony to be questioned. We will argue that these modifications of the meanings and the loosening in the coherence of this discourse they provoked -in connection with the inability of the other parties to respond persuasively to the questions created- explain the 2.5% decline of PA.SO.K.'s electoral force as well as the maintainance of its hegemony.

In order to understand the relationship between the state and education we will specify the identities that these elements acquired in this period through PA.SO.K.'s concrete articulatory practices. We will argue that these identities were different from those they had acquired in the previous period within PA.SO.K.'s discourse as much as in comparison to those within the discourse of New Democracy.

Through the institutional mechanisms of popular

participation which were established, the identity of the state presented a degree of socialization, which was smaller than that which appeared within PA.SO.K.'s discourse in the previous period, when the socialization of the state has been projected. However, it was significant in relation to the identity of the state in New Democracy's discourse.

As to the identity of education: The institutional mechanisms of popular participation established in its field permitted the more active participation of the social agents in decision-making and hence its greater degree of socialization; consequently, greater degree of autonomy from the other branches of the state and the other elements of the discourse in general.

Finally, we will state our results in relation to our general and more specific arguments and we will refer briefly to the question of social change from the point of view of the articulatory hegemonic practices.

PART I

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF HEGEMONY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STATE-EDUCATION RELATIONSHIP

The use of the concept of hegemony in relation to the state and state power was attributed to Gramsci even though he thought that he had met it in Lenin. Indeed, the term was used by Lenin, but in the restricted sense of class alliance. Gramsci broadened the meaning of the concept so that it became the key concept for understanding and assessment of his theoretical and political analysis.

1.1 The concept of hegemony in Gramsci

While Marx, Engels and Lenin emphasised the capitalist state as the repressive apparatus of the Bourgeoisie, Gramsci understood this state as something more than that, indicating the development of mechanisms within the capitalist state through which the political interests of the bourgeoisie are structured as representing "the general interest". Exactly in this context he used the concept of hegemony to explain the political practices of the dominant classes, adopting the idea that the bourgeois development was also carried out through hegemony in the arena of consciousness. The state, as an instrument of bourgeois domination, is involved in the struggle over consciousness,

becoming a close participant in this.

Elaborating the concept of hegemony on the level of concrete political practices, Gramsci establishes that there are not pure class ideologies but a pluralistic universe which different classes can selectively articulate to provide their own class ideologies. He insists that there are important ideological elements which have no necessary class connotation and belong to the field of "national-popular", treating these elements as the site par excellence of ideological class struggle. The two fundamental classes compete to articulate these elements into their own class discourse, so that it becomes a "popular region" or organic expression of the national interest, and secures the active consent of the people.

For Gramsci, this struggle is carried out through intellectuals and it is mediated through an ensemble of hegemonic apparatuses located mainly in the field of civil society. The organic relations between the government apparatus and the civil society is the key in this new Gramscian approach. Moreover, Gramsci examines how political support is established and/or undermined through economic, political and ideological practices which -beyond class relations- include the whole field of social relations; having rejected the restriction of the political practice to an automatic effect of class origin and the identification of all the political subjects as class subjects. Thus, Gramsci, maintaining some distance from Lenin's view, argued that hegemony can be obtained through

the articulation of elements from different discourses and particularly of "national-popular" ones. The political forces are, thus, constituted as inter-class (or better pluriclassiste) collective wills in and through the class struggle.

Thus, Gramsci moves away from (explicitly or implicitly) the classic form of economism and class reductionism and breaks with epiphenomenalism in endowing the political and ideological levels with effectivity. As to how Gramsci establishes the class character of the different ideological systems, Mouffe argues that the class unity of the common world-view created through such political, intellectual and moral leadership derives from its articulation around a value-system, the realization of which depends on the key-role played by the fundamental classes at the economic level. This value-system constitutes the "hegemonic principle" "permeating the common world-view and endowing it with distinctive class nature"¹

Laclau argues that the unifying principle of class ideologies is located in the particular concept of subjectivity. He notes that the Gramscian concept of hegemony is an attempt to conceive the centrality of the working class as a process of historical construction and not as the immutable datum at an infrastructure. Regarding the Gramscian contribution Laclau argues that, through the type of social logic which a hegemonic relation implies, Gramsci brings a novel element to marxist theory:

"...but if on the contrary, a hegemonic struggle is possible then it can only mean that the very sense of such contents (social) is not predetermined. This opens the vast field of the politics of the signifier, which requires a recognition of the constitutive nature of difference and discursiveness of the social "2

Concerning the subject of hegemony we perceive the limitations of Gramscian approach. Gramsci's insistence that one of the fundamental classes can become the hegemonic subject and that the hegemonic principle is determined by the key-role played by the fundamental class in the economic level, reveals his commitment to economism and class reductionism which he continues to maintain. Laclau argues that the politics of signifier and the play of differences do not come into the process of the constitution of the hegemonic subjects, since "... the necessity of one hegemonic centre can reproduce under different forms a discourse of society"3

We shall now see the implications of this Gramscian concept of hegemony for state and education. Education is conceived as a part of the state, carrying out part of its class function, that of mediating class conflict and maintaining order which reproduces class domination. Gramsci located the reproduction of class domination in the superstructure rather than the economic base and, by attributing an entirely specific function of the intellectuals to the superstructure, gave education a central place; education was no longer an effect of the economic base. For Gramsci, the role of the traditional bourgeois system is to develop "organic intellectuals" and

give homogeneity to the dominant group. State schooling was class structured, part of the ideological apparatus of the bourgeois state and a contributor to bourgeois hegemony. He saw that the type of knowledge taught and the teacher-pupil relations in the school are crucial to the maintenance of bourgeois hegemony. But this knowledge can only be used for the proletariat by being transformed through a process of establishing proletarian hegemony. According to him the existence of a counter-ideology emerges from and contributes to a crisis in bourgeois hegemony. Crisis of hegemony, a "war of position" and the role of intellectuals are the three concepts which Gramsci developed and with which he answered the question of change.

Rejecting the simple instrumental or epiphenomenal views of the state, Gramsci depicts it as a class force with a vital role in the organization of class domination, in securing the long run interests of the Bourgeoisie as well as its unification, in facilitating concessions to the subordinate classes and in securing the active consent of the governed. Gramsci saw the leading role of the revolutionary Party as an answer to this role of the state. The Party's aim is to move on to positive activity to obtain and consolidate its own moral and intellectual leadership by organising the working class, forming organic links with the masses and disarticulating the democratic basis of the bourgeois state in the sense of governed and paralysing the functions of legal government over the masses. Gramsci argues that a successful revolution in advanced capitalist system presupposes a protracted "war of

position" to alter the relation of forces and prepare for a transition to socialism before the political-military conquest of political society⁴, that is the state, which he defined as follows:

"the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules"⁵

Such a definition of the state does not enable us to claim that Gramsci finally rejected the instrumentalist conception of the state. Instead, we are entitled to argue that Gramsci confronts the state as a closed field of action of the dominant class, that is, as an organ in the absolute command of the bourgeoisie. This line of thought is strengthened by another Gramscian argument:

"a social group can and indeed must, already exercise 'leadership' before winning governmental power (this indeed is one of the principal conditions for the winning of such power)"⁶.

In this context the concept of hegemony shows effectively the exteriority in the relationship political domination/hegemony and consequently state/social class.

Of course, such a conception of the nature of the state has an impact on the conception of the nature of education. School as part of the ideological state apparatuses has been implicitly seen surrounded by educational procedures directed through the revolutionary Party. Schools, considered, like the state, as a solid and impenetrable field, remain "closed" to a counter ideology, which simply surrounds them. However, such a conception restricts education to the moment of inculcation of the

dominant ideology and does not leave any room for any moment of resistance or challenge to it. Finally, though Gramsci emphasised the role of education, stressing the hegemonic type of class domination, he could not conceive how wide the spectrum of the functions of education actually is. This, we consider, is due to the fact that Gramsci had attributed a restricted role to the state.

However, we should not forget that Gramsci presented his analyses of the state in the context of concrete political practices and he did not elaborate a complete theory of the capitalist state. This significant task was undertaken by Poulantzas and in this attempt we will see a further development of the concept of hegemony. However, before we proceed to Poulantzas's innovations we consider it useful to linger for a little over the work of Louis Althusser.

1.2 Louis Althusser:

Overdetermination and determination in the last instance

Althusser conceived of society as "a complex structured whole" and tried drastically to differentiate this conception from the Hegelian notion of totality. While the complexity of Hegelian Totality is that of the plurality of moments in a single process of self unfolding, the Althusserian complexity is that inherent in a process of overdetermination. Arguing that everything existing in the social is overdetermined Althusser seems to assert that we have not two planes here, one of essence and the other of appearances, since there is no possibility of fixing an ultimate, literal sense in which the symbolic would be a second and derived plane of signification. But Althusser did not proceed to the analysis and elaboration of the implications which this use of the concept of overdetermination would have. This is because, as Laclau noted, he tried from the very beginning to render it compatible with the idea of "determination in the last instance by economy". However, this logic entails that the relations between the instances "must be conceived in terms of simple, one-directional determination by the latter" (the last instance)⁷. In that case we should deduce that the field of overdetermination is limited to a contingent variation as opposed to essential determination. Thus we are faced with a new variation of essentialism and dualism. Althusser did not develop all the implications of the

concept of overdetermination which would have led him to the conception of the precarious and relational character of every identity and would have revealed to him the impossibility of the concept "determination in the last instance by the economy".

Restricting more and more the use of the concept of overdetermination and generalising the application of the concept of "determination in the last instance by economy". Althusser was enclosed in a structural determinism, which removed him from the Gramscian starting-point. Because, though he started out (and always insisted on) arguing for a relative autonomy of the superstructure from the base, the final result of his theoretical developments was determination (or "overdetermination") of the superstructure by the base -determination of the practices by the structure. Action has been conceived by Althusser not as a result of human initiative, but that of the social structure which acts through "a structural causality" in the social whole. Individualities and social classes are auxiliary "supports" in this structural causality which plays a central role and determines their practice. For Althusser, the thoughts and actions of the human beings constitute objective creations of the structure. The subject is a myth; it is an effect of ideology.

In this connection we should say that Althusser continued the development of a general theory of ideology.

Influenced by Gramsci, Althusser stressed the relative autonomy of ideology and its role as a relation both of individuals and/or social groups with the real conditions of their existence and as the political relation between dominant and dominated classes. "Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence"². This Althusserian conception of ideology brings two new elements: (a) that ideology becomes material practice and (b) that it constitutes the imaginary relations of individuals with the real conditions of their existence. As to the (a) he locates ideology in material institutions and rituals. As far as the (b) is concerned, he puts emphasis on the effectivity of ideology, instead of looking for its origin by locating the class from which ideology stems. However, in the last instance the economic base remains the real, the essential and all else are epiphenomena. Ideology becomes effective through the constitution of the subject. The individual becomes a subject by a practice through which he recognises himself in a closed imaginary circuit and thus, the impression of his subjectivity is given to him in both: action, since he is an agent of action and in consciousness, since he recognises his existence by the fact that ideology interpellates him. This conception of the constitution of subject through ideology was considered as a radical move because the subject is not constituted within the economic base. However, we have here a split between the real

subject and the Big, which is the imaginary Subject, and we return to the problematic real/imaginary, base/superstructure.

We shall now return to Althusser's views on the relationship between state and education. Through his reproduction theses, Althusser turns attention from production to reproduction, which moves (for the most part) from the structure to superstructure. That is, he considers that the reproduction of the labour force and the relations of production are secured mainly by the state and particularly by its ideological apparatuses (ISAs), which he distinguishes from the repressive state apparatuses (RSAs). For Althusser it is the ISAs:

"which largely secure the reproduction specifically of the relations of production behind a 'shield' provided by the RSAs... It is the intermediation of the ruling ideology that ensures 'a harmony' between the RSAs and the ISAs and between the different ISAs".⁹.

Thus, Althusser argues that in capitalist social formations the educational ideological apparatus, in contrast to the political ideological one, possesses the privilege of being dominant. According to him, the school is in fact the dominant state apparatus because of the obligatory audience of all children and the long period of time they remain within it.

"It is by an apprenticeship in a variety of know-how wrapped up in the massive inculcation of the ideology of the ruling class that the relations of production in a capitalist social formation are largely reproduced"¹⁰.

This happened under the cover of the ideology of the school which presents the school as neutral environment purged of

ideology.

Perhaps, we could argue that Althusser proceeded beyond Gramsci to the idea of relative autonomy of the superstructure from the structure, stressing the dominant role of the former in the reproduction of the relations of production. Althusser also brought education into the centre of sociological interest, underlining its main place among the ISAs. We should say that in Althusser there is a structural causality which formulates a systematic totality (society is given as theoretical object), and the reproductive action of the state and its apparatuses is also in the last instance determined by the economic base.

We cannot underestimate Althusser's contributions (e.g. the systematization of the role of the ISAs, the effectiveness of ideology and superstructure, the introduction of the concept of overdetermination...). We must, however, remark that Althusser approached the state and hence education -as ideological state apparatus- as having identities determined by the economic base and a pregiven role and function (reproduction of the relations of production). The "relative autonomy of the state", on which Althusser insisted, cannot be supported. We cannot speak of autonomy of the state or the other elements of superstructure, since there is an economic base with its own identity and so it can determine the identities of the other elements and their own "index of effectivity".

3. Nicos Poulantzas: a First relational approach to state and education

Poulantzas emphasised the primacy of the structure over the class struggle, making an attempt to reconcile the Gramscian and Althusserian positions, the obvious imprint of which his work bears regarding the analysis of political class struggle and the institutional matrix of capitalism as well as the global reproduction of the social formation. This is much more evident in his early writings (P.P.S.C. 1968), while in his more recent studies there has been a shift to the primacy of class struggle over the structure.

According to Poulantzas, the two distinctive features that the capitalist state demonstrate: (a) the non-determination of subjects as agents of production but as "individuals" and (b) the constant absence of the political class dominance from its institutions make it able to present itself as the popular class-state. The modern capitalist state with the "People" as a principle of determination presents itself as embodying the general interest of society as a whole. This individualization of the agents of production has serious implications for a scientific enquiry because: (a) it is impossible to constitute social classes from the agents of production

conceived as "individual subjects"; and (b) it is impossible to relate the state to classes and the class struggle since it is related to these economic agents as "individuals".

Poulantzas developed a regional theory of the capitalist state relating it to both the structures and the class struggle. More concretely, he argues that: the place of the capitalist state in the CMP, its unique organizational form, its precise functions in the capitalist reproduction depend on the distinctive matrix of the CMP and its transformation according to the stages and phases of capital accumulation, and on the modifications which take place within these structural limits by the changing conjunctures of class struggle in the various regions of capitalist society and their overdetermination by the political class struggle in its global sense. In this context Poulantzas actually adopts two approaches to the relative autonomy of the state: structuralist and conjunctural. When he makes a shift from the structural effects to the "form-determined" ones he argues:

"such autonomy is indeed constitutive of the capitalist state: it refers to the state's materiality as an apparatus relatively separated from the relations of production and to the specificity of class struggle under capitalism that is implicit in that separation"¹¹.

This last expression reminds us Althusser's "indices of effectivity" and Poulantzas's flirtation with "determination in the last instance by economy". However, Poulantzas differs from Althusser as he makes a shift from structural effects to "form determined" effects of

political institutions on class struggle. This shift is due to articulation between the institutional materiality of the state and state Power which Poulantzas implies. However it should not be considered as radical insofar as the material framework of Power and the state have their roots in the economic base. But Poulantzas suggests a new conception of the economic base itself, which is worth paying attention to:

"Today more than ever it is necessary to distance from the formalist economist position according to which the economy is composed of elements that remain unchanged ... such a conception obscures the role of struggles lodged in the very heart of the relations of production and exploitation. Furthermore, it treats the space or the field of economic (and consequently that of the state political) as essentially immutable, as possessing intrinsic limits that are sketched out once and for all by its self-reproduction"¹².

This new conception of the economic base as not having essential identity is radical; it leads to the rejection of the essentialist closure of the economic level, as well as the political one, and to the emergence of relational identities through articulation. This argument of ours is reinforced by Poulantzas' explicit declaration about the abandoning of schema B/S¹³, as much as by his many positions in his last writings. An example of these would be the following statement, through which he opens the way to the logic of articulation arguing for the interrelationship between the various instances:

"The space or site of economy... nor in capitalism has ever formed a hermetically sealed level, capable of self-reproduction and possessing its own 'Laws' of internal functioning. The political field of the state... has always... been present in the constitution and reproduction of the relations of

production... It follows that neither the concept of economy nor that of the state can have the same meaning in the various modes of production... a mode of production does not arise out of the combination of various instances... all of which possess an inalterable structure before they come into relation with one another... They are from the very beginning constituted by their mutual relation and articulation"¹⁴.

The fact that Poulantzas immediately adds: "this process is affected in each mode of production through the determining role of the relations of production", is a sui generis relation; and it cannot be conceived as his returning to "determination in the last instance by economy".

Similarly, as far as Power is concerned Poulantzas argues that "the field of Power is strictly relational"¹⁵ and he agrees with Foucault's conception of power as "strategic location of the relationship of forces within society". For Poulantzas "the relational field of class specific power is fundamentally, though not exclusively, determined by exploitation"¹⁶. That is, Poulantzas again endows the class power with a sui generis base.

We shall now return to state and hegemony to see Poulantzas specific views. He himself rejects the conception of the state as thing without any autonomy as much as the conception of the state as subject with a tendency to absolute autonomy vis-à-vis the social classes. Strongly criticizing these two perspectives as attributing intrinsic identities to state and social classes, Poulantzas proceeds to a relational definition of the state by arguing:

"The capitalist state should not be regarded as an intrinsic entity... it is rather a relationship of forces, or more precisely the material condensation of such a relationship among classes and class fractions, such as this is expressed within the state in a necessarily specific form"¹⁷ and that "... it is not that the state is an omnipotent entity beyond which lies emptiness but already inscribed in its materiality are internal limits imposed by the struggles of the dominated"¹⁸.

Furthermore, according to Poulantzas the state apparatuses do not have power of their own -Institutions have not power as such- nor is power inherent in hierarchical relations. Social classes, for him, produce the particular configuration of power in the state apparatuses. Considering that the class struggle plays the fundamental role over the state apparatuses he remarks "The apparatuses are never anything other than the materialization and condensation of class relations"¹⁹. The principal role of the state apparatuses is to maintain the unity and cohesion of a social formation. Political and ideological relations are materialized and embodied as material practices in the state apparatuses.

It is precisely in this context that Poulantzas uses the concept of hegemony. In particular it covers the political practices of the dominant classes in the capitalist social formations. In fact Poulantzas's concept of hegemony includes a double delimitation through (a) specific class practices in the global field of class practices within (b) limits established by the structural effects of a given state form and/or regime. This double delimitation would explain Poulantzas's argument in contrast with Gramsci, that the working class cannot win

hegemony before the seizure of state power with its attendant "smashing" of the capitalist state. For, while the working class could establish hegemony over the popular masses at the level of class positions, it could not secure hegemony at the level of structural determination until it has consolidated a new form of the state that corresponds to its long term, global political interests. For this reason Poulantzas suggests a new strategy which involves the close articulation and coordination of class struggle within the official state apparatus aiming at making ruptures among the various power centres, branches and apparatuses of the integral state; and the class struggle at a distance from the official state apparatus, building organs of direct rank and file democracy and unifying the popular masses in opposition to the power bloc²⁰.

Poulantzas uses hegemony in a double sense. Firstly, he agrees with Gramsci²¹ in restricting the use of the concept to the political practices of the dominant classes through which their own interests are constituted as representative of the general interest of the body-politic, i.e. the "people-nation". Secondly, Poulantzas uses the "Power bloc" composed of several politically dominant classes or fractions and one of them holds a particular dominant role characterised as hegemonic. In this second sense (which is absent in Gramsci) hegemony "encompasses the political domination of one of the dominant classes or fractions vis-a-vis the dominant classes or fractions in a capitalist social formation"²².

This double sense implies a double function for the hegemonic class, which is actualised through its particular relation to the capitalist state. This crucial importance of the state gives great weight to the role of intellectuals in organising and leading the dominant and dominated classes alike. This is one of the points that Poulantzas and Gramsci are in agreement on. Poulantzas denies -and on that point agrees with Gramsci- that the dominant ideology is an exclusive creation of the dominant class and it has a pregiven unitary content determined outside the class struggle. It is dominant because it corresponds to the interest of the dominant class in a struggle for hegemony in the context of "isolation effect" and the concrete relation of political forces in a given social formation²³.

Introducing the necessity for a close articulation of the popular struggles within and at a distance from the state and recognising the crisis of the Communist Parties because of their commitments to the primacy of working class and the struggles in the work place, Poulantzas suggests that: the parties must be actively present in the new social movements and that these movements must find a place in the parties without losing their own (non-class) specificity.

Summarising Poulantzas's advances we could say that he seems to move away from essentialism, positivism and class reductionism by suggesting the "relational" identity of the state power and social classes²⁴ -even the economic

base included- and by making use of the concept of articulation. We consider that Poulantzas, following another channel, was in the course of a relational theory, which, however, he could not reach basically because of his positivist departure (the structural matrix -even when it became form-determined effect). Thus, rather, his structural and class reductionist residues can be explained. On this point Jessop's argument is characteristic: "Poulantzas gradually embraced the view that there was not necessarily unity in the state apparatus and such unity as emerged was the result of specific class practices. He thereby arrived at a 'relational theory' in which state power is investigated as a (partially form determined condensation of political forces"²⁵.

Stressing the institutional materiality of the state apparatuses and their relation to class struggle Poulantzas turns his attention to state apparatuses within concrete social formations in a given conjuncture. He suggests -in contrast with Althusser- that all institutions have a multiplicity of functions which division into ISAs and RSAs obscures. Thus, schools are not only an ISA, but also a repressive and an economic apparatus. It is not enough to say that schools inculcate the pupil with the dominant ideology; the institution as such has repressive functions as well: e.g. by law it can force students to behave in a particular way. It has also an economic role e.g. provision with the technical skills necessary to capital accumulation, source of employment for special

groups in society. Teachers and administrators of the school form, in Poulantzas view, the new petty-bourgeoisie. Thus, schools contribute to the sustainment of bourgeois ideology concerning the justice of capitalism, (upward mobility).

According to Poulantzas, the state incorporates the division between mental and manual work into all its apparatuses.²⁶ It also plays its own role in the constitution of the division and its reproduction. Schools not only distribute knowledge, they also produce it. Knowledge is also produced by the state itself. Intellectual experts "have largely become functionaries of the state in one form or another". Research is heavily influenced by government contracts and they have an important effect on new technology.

In contrast with the institutional functionalists, Poulantzas suggests that: "the state apparatuses including the school do not create class divisions, but they contribute to them and so contribute also to their extended reproduction".²⁷ It is not the institutions which create social classes²⁸ but vice-versa. That is, the educational system is the result of class struggle and at the same time a part of this struggle; it is the result of contradictions and the source of new contradictions.

Poulantzas considers that it is the articulation of the institutional materiality with political power, which gives relational identity to each state apparatus. Thus, the identity of education depends on the specific type of

the conjunctural condensation of the relationship of social (class) forces within and outside of it. In other words, the material condensation of the relationship of social forces does not appear in the same way and/or form within the different state apparatuses. This means that in the conjuncture probabilities can be shaped for differentiation of the educational policy in relation to the rest of policy and hence we may legitimately speak of strategies and tactics of action within and outside education.

Thus, we can see explicitly that Poulantzas's analyses of the state and education include a dynamic and open new perspectives with reference to the Gramscian and Arthusserian ones.

1.4 E. Laclau and Ch. Mouffe a radical conception of hegemony

The common realization, which directs the theoretical analyses of the three previously examined theorists, seems to be the increased role of the political and ideological level in the contemporary capitalist societies. Because of that the three shift their interest from the base to the superstructure of the social formations. These three also share the conception of society as a pregiven, objective and unified whole, which is offered to the sociologist for observation and scientific study. Though they reject the Hegelian idea of totality, which subsumes the real in the idea, they continue to

consider society as a complex but unified whole, insofar as they accept a base (either it is called "economy" or "mode of production" or "structural matrix"), which finally determines and fixes society as a whole. Thus, their positivist commitment is finally the reason which obscures the dynamic, revealing their ideas concerning the significance of the role of the superstructure, either with reference to the concept of hegemony, which comes to explain and to put stress on the political practices, or the concepts of reciprocal action and overdetermination, which would signal the dissolution of any ontological identity of the social, or finally with reference to the nature of the state and power as relations, which explicitly open the way to a relational conception of the social.

Here, exactly, Laclau-Mouffe's radical shift is situated. They conceive the social "as a non-sutured space, as a field in which all positivity is metaphorical and subvertible".²⁹ They reject the hypothesis of a final closure of the social and start their analysis "from a plurality of political and social spaces which do not refer to any ultimate unitarian basis".³⁰

Just as, for Gramsci, the phenomenon of the development of fascism undoubtedly played a significant role in the elaboration of the concept of hegemony and for Poulantzas the phenomenon of May 1968 in Paris and the collapse of dictatorship in Greece, Spain and Portugal contributed to a progressive elimination of structuralist

formalism and their shift to the primacy of the class struggle over the structure; in the same way, for Laclau and Mouffe, the phenomenon of growing complexity of the social in the contemporary capitalism seems to play a decisive role in the radical turn of their thought, which is founded on the recognition of the constitutive character of difference.

While Gramsci, Althusser and Poulantzas had adopted the logic of classic marxism as a guiding method which presented society as an intelligible totality constituted around conceptually explicable laws, Laclau and Mouffe instead adopt as their guiding method the social logic, which the use of the concept of hegemony in Gramsci implies, pointing out that: if a hegemonic struggle is possible, it can only mean that the very sense of the various social contents is not predetermined. It is exactly the expansion and determination of this social logic implicit in the concept of hegemony -in a direction that goes far beyond Gramsci- which provides them with an anchorage from which contemporary social struggles are thinkable in their specificity, as well as permitting them to outline a new politics for the Left based upon the project of radical democracy.

Thus, Laclau and Mouffe consider being situated in a post-marxist terrain in a double sense: post-marxist and post-marxist. This means that their starting point is the marxist tradition, but rejecting any epistemological prerogative based upon the ontologically privileged

position of a "universal class", they move as a river to "having originated at a common source, spread in various directions and mingle with currents flowing down from other sources"²¹. In other words they argue that the discourses that constituted the field of classical marxism may help to form the thinking of a new left by bequeathing some of their concepts, transforming or abandoning others and diluting themselves in that infinite intertextuality of emancipatory discourses in which the plurality of the social takes shape.

However, let us examine more concretely and briefly how "the river" moves, in which currents it mingles and where its course leads.

Once one abandons the positivist conception of society as a unified totality, which is pregiven and totally transparent as theoretical object, certain questions emerge. The first is: how is the unity of the social whole constituted and secured since one has, especially, rejected the doctrine of an external reason of its determination, as for example, the case of the schema B/S? A second question is: do the constitutive elements of the social whole have or not have a fixed identity and if not, how are they identified? We will start from the second question.

As we have already seen the challenge of the fixed identity of the constitutive social elements have been put, implicitly, by the Gramscian use of the concept of hegemony and in a second move by Althusser arguing that the

determination in the last instance fixes the real difference of the other instances, the relative autonomy of the superstructure. That means that the economic base is an entity separate and outside the sphere of articulation, that it only possesses a fixed identity and that the real differences of the elements of the superstructure get their identity through their determination by the base, that is, these elements do not have an essential identity. However, since we have rejected the idea of "determination in the last instance", how are these elements identified?

Here exactly we have the entry of a first "current". It is Saussure who refers to the relational identity of words. He argues that words get their meaning neither because they refer to an object in the external world, nor because they are rule-governed (although Saussure is ambiguous on this) but because of their relationship with other words. That is, the meaning of "man" is defined by its relationship to "woman". This linguistic model, used in a sociological perspective, means that the social elements do not have a fixed, bounded identity, because their identity depends on the elements to which they are related. In other words, meaning comes through internal relation between the elements of the same discourse. Thus, any notion of the essentially fixed identity based on a theory of representation -that is, on a relation of exteriority between object and symbol- is challenged.

Let us return to the first question. First of all,

by the answer given to the previous question, it became clear that society can not be constituted as a fixed and closed totality, insofar as its elements cannot obtain a complete and fixed identity. It was also clear that articulation is that within and through which the elements get their identity, that is, as Laclau-Mouffe remark, they become "moments", but also it does not mean that they possess an ultimate literal meaning, but their regularities merely consist of relative and precarious forms of a partial fixation, of an always partial meaning. Thus, "a certain notion of totality could be reintroduced, with the difference that it would no longer involve an underlying principle that would unify 'society', but an ensemble of totalizing effects in an open relational complex."³²

We have, that is, here the use of the concept of overdetermination. The logic of overdetermination affirms the incomplete, open and politically negotiable character of every identity; each identity is overdetermined inasmuch as all literality appears as constitutively subverted and exceeded; "the presence of some objects in the others prevents any of their identities from being fixed. Objects appear articulated not like pieces of a clockwork mechanism, but because the presence of some in the others hinders the suturing of the identity of any of them."³³

However, it is necessary to define some of the concepts introduced by Laclau and Mouffe in order to be more explicit and furthermore, to proceed without danger of confusion. They call articulation "any practice

establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practices"; discourse "the structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice"; moments "the differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse "; and element "any difference that is not discursively articulated"²⁴ These definitions, however, demand further elucidation. Articulation appears as an attempt to constitute an impossible object "society". Articulatory practices, as an attempt to constitute a new centre of determination -which is not already given- of social practices, and does not express any external necessity not already constituted either.

This, too, is a radical conception of the determinant center compared with that of the exterior and pre-given centre of the economic base in the schema B/S, or with that of the rules (internal but pre-given) in Foucault's "discursive formation". Laclau-Mouffe, also, reject the distinction between discursive and non-discursive practices. They affirm "that every object is constituted as an object of discourse, insofar as no object is given outside every discursive condition of emergence".²⁵ This fact has nothing to do with whether there is a world external to thought. An earthquake, according to them, occurs independently of our will, it is an object of the external world. But whether its specificity as object is constructed in terms of "natural phenomenon" or "expression of the wrath of God", depends

upon the structuring of a discursive field.³⁶

In addition Laclau-Mouffe affirm the material character of every discursive structure. The linguistic and non-linguistic elements are not merely juxtaposed, but constitute a differential and structured system of positions. The dichotomy between object and symbol collapses. However, just as in Wittgenstein, language and action constitute an indissoluble totality (the linguistic game), so here object and symbol constitute a structured whole. Synonym, metonymy, metaphor are not forms of thought that add a second sense to a primary, constitutive literality of social relations; instead they are part of the primary terrain itself in which the social is constituted. In other words, what constitutes a differential position and therefore a relational identity with certain linguistic elements, is not the idea e.g. of building-stone or slab, but the building-stone or the slab as such.³⁶ This, of course, is in agreement with the arguments of Gramsci, Althusser and Poulantzas about the material character of ideology and dissolves the distinction between materialism/idealism. What is, however, the difference between Laclau-Mouffe and the former? As we have seen Gramsci, Poulantzas and Althusser affirm the material character of ideologies inasmuch as these are not simple systems of ideas, but material practices embodied in institutions, rituals and so forth. However, this connection of the material practices with ideology whose identity was thought of as an a priori unity vis-à-vis the

dispersion of its materiality, required an appeal either to the unifying role of class (Gramsci, Poulantzas) or to the functional requirements of the logic of reproduction (Althusser). But once this essentialist assumption is abandoned, the category of articulation acquires a different theoretical status: articulation is now a discursive practice which does not have a plane of constitution prior to, or outside, the dispersion of the articulated elements.³⁷

Discourse appears by definition³⁴ as "the structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice". This requires a further explanation since previously the idea of totality was rejected. Here it is not a case of a sutured totality; in a discursive formation the transformation of the elements into moments is never complete. Laclau and Mouffe accepts that: "if the relational and differential logic of the discursive totality prevailed without any limitation, we would be faced with pure relations of necessity and any articulation would be impossible given that every 'element' would ex definitione be 'moment'".³⁸

But what is this constraint, which prevents the logic of discursive totality from prevailing? This restriction, according to Laclau-Mouffe, finds itself in the fact that: "a discursive totality never exists in the form of a simply given and delimited positivity".³⁹ This is what allows contingency to pierce necessity. "A no-man's land thus emerges, making the articulatory practice

possible".³⁹ In this case, there is no social identity fully protected from a discursive exterior that deforms it and prevents it becoming fully sutured. By this "exterior", as Laclau-Mouffe emphasise, the category of extra-discursive is not reintroduced. The exterior is constituted by other discourses. Thus, "the irresoluble interiority/exteriority tension is the condition of any social practice": necessity only exists as partial limitation of the field of contingency. In the terrain of the social neither a total interiority nor a total exteriority is possible, and that means, neither absolute necessity nor complete contingency, neither absolute fixity nor absolute non-fixity. In every social entity there is inherent a "surplus of meaning" and this is what prevents it from being absolutely fixed and allows the constitution of every social practice. This field of the surplus of meaning is called discursivity. On this point the "river" seems to flow into other contemporary "currents" of thought - Heidegger, Derrida, Wittgenstein etc.- who have insisted on the impossibility of fixing ultimate meanings.

Exactly this conception of infinite discursivity is what breaks with the idea of any structural system. And this is the reason why the status of the "elements" is that of floating signifiers, incapable of being wholly articulated to a discursive chain. These elements which appear as a particular increase of the "surplus" of meaning are called "nodal" points and are characterised as privileged discursive points. On the other hand, since the

identity of the articulatory force is constituted in the ganeral field of discursivity, any reference to a transcendental or originative subject is eliminated. Also Laclau-Mouffe argues that: "the material character of discourse cannot be unified in the experience or consciousness of a founding subject; on the contrary, diverse subject positions appear dispersed within a discursive formation".⁴⁰

Making clear the meaning of the terms introduced by Laclau-Mouffe's analyses and questioning their implications for the theorization of the social, we remark a radical shift from positivism, essentialism and structuralism, and the rejection of the various dichotomies, which had been formed by their influence and they finally had constructed the idea of a social order in our mind. The question which arises is: Is the social chaotic now? How is its coherence secured now?

We have seen that a new unifying "centre" has already been constituted: the articulatory practices, which of course do not come from any external necessity, are not pre-given, but constitutive, that is, they have relational identity and its dynamic is found in the field of discursivity. In other words, here emerges a new type of unity, which is based neither on the logical coherence of the elements, nor on the a priori of a transcendental subject, nor on a meaning-giving subject, nor finally on the unity of an experience. This new type of unity is called "regularity in dispersion" and Foucault first

introduced it. However, Laclau-Mouffe use the term in a different context from that of Foucault. Regularity in dispersion is not used in terms of a system of rules of formation, of complex conditions of existence of the dispersed statements,⁴¹ but in terms of an ensemble of differential positions, which is not the expression of an underlying principle external to itself. This ensemble constitutes a configuration, which in certain contexts of exteriority can be signified as a totality, but "it cannot be apprehended either by a hermeneutic reading or by a structuralist combinatory".⁴² As L-M's analysis demonstrates this form of unity is reinforced by and combined with the antagonistic form of the relationship, which draws the limits of the social within the conjuncture and secures society from a total fluidity, and also with the hegemonic practices, which leads to wider unifications of the social.

The antagonistic form of the relationship is not the type of real opposition (A - B) or that of contradictions (A - not A), since these types of relationship presuppose full identities. In the case of antagonism, the relation arises not from full totalities, but from the impossibility of their constitution: "the presence of the 'other' prevents me from being totally myself". That is, "antagonism constitutes the limits of every objectivity, which is revealed as partial and precarious objectification".⁴³

Thus, the antagonistic form of relationship indicates from another point of view that there are not

fixed limits of interiority/exteriority and this gives a new broadening dynamic to the articulatory practices. This could be expressed by the statement that every social practice depends on tension or the problems created between what is interior and what is exterior. And this tension clearly depends on the conjuncture and not on any pregiven rule or law. On this basis a new horizon opens for a reexamination of the question of the construction of social classes. Class antagonism is not inscribed in the relations of production considered as an extra-discursive structure but derives instead from the particular discursive identification (or "interpellation") of class subjects. This suggests, as Laclau-Mouffe argue, that class struggle is first of all a struggle for the constitution of class subjects and at the same time a struggle between class subjects. (Poulantzas argues similarly)⁴⁴. Classes here are not preconstituted but constitutive and this, of course, has crucial implications for the analysis of the concept of hegemony and the category of Subject, which we will now examine.

For Laclau and Mouffe the general field of the emergence of Hegemony is that of articulation practices. We could also say that in them the concept of hegemony has a function of expansion and completion of the concept of articulation, as we could also say that hegemonic practices consist of a part of the general field of articulatory practices. However, more importantly hegemonic practice, as any articulatory practice,

presupposes a field where the "elements" have not crystallized into "moments" and that the ultimate core of a hegemonic force does not consist of a fundamental class (as happens in Gramsci, Althusser and Poulantzas); besides the hegemonic force and the ensemble of hegemonized elements cannot be conceived existing on different ontological levels but on the same plane: the general field of discursivity. Thus, exteriority supposed by the articulatory practice is that existing between subject positions located within certain discursive formation and "elements" which have no precise discursive articulation.

The acceptance of the discursive constitution of social identities, which entails the dissolution of different ontological levels and privileged preconstituted points that fix meaning, also entails the dissolution of the concept of ideology. Despite its material dimension and its effectivity, the concept of ideology in Gramsci and Althusser continues to signify the existence of two ideological levels -B/S- situated at the superstructure.

Even his developments Althusser returns again to the "determination in the last instance...". Neither does Gramsci finally break with the B/S model. He insists on the necessary constitution of the hegemonic force at the plane of one of the fundamental classes and on the fact that the hegemonic principle, which secures the unity of the various ideological elements includes a system of values the realization of which depends on the key-role played by the fundamental class in the field of the

relations of production.

In Gramsci hegemony is acquired through ideological struggle, the transformation of the previous ideological terrain and the creation of a new common sense (world-view) which serves as a uniting principle, thus cementing together a new collective will.

In our study following Laclau-Mouffe's theoretical developments, the concept of hegemony signifies a radicalized concept of discourse. It is articulation, relation, practice through which elements acquire meaning, identity and it is included within the wide field of articulatory practices.

The multiple and complex articulatory practices which emerge from the field of antagonism are the meaningful tools in our study through which the social identities are constituted. From this point of view, and given the dimension of ideology as material practice introduced by Gramsci and Althusser, we could say that this concept is assimilated and dissolves within the wide spectrum of articulatory practices.

Considering the specificity of the hegemonic practice, Laclau-Mouffe define two necessary conditions for it to emerge: (a) the presence of antagonistic forces and (b) the instability of the frontiers which separate them. Hegemony emerges only in a field criss-crossed by antagonisms and therefore supposes phenomena of equivalence and frontier effects. Without equivalence and without frontiers it is impossible to speak strictly of

hegemony.

In this context Laclau and Mouffe redefine the basic concepts of the Gramscian analysis in terms of their conception of the Social and radicalize them in a direction that leads beyond Gramsci. Thus they keep the concept of "organic crisis" and they define it as "conjuncture where the generalized weakening of the relational system defines the identities of a given social or political space and where, as a result, there is a proliferation of floating elements";⁴⁵ and the concept of "war of position" inasmuch as a hegemonic formation (historical bloc) implies a phenomenon of frontiers. Insofar as a historical bloc -discursive formation- is considered from the point of view of the antagonistic terrain, in which it is constituted, it is called hegemonic formation.

Now we can see how these concepts become radical. Laclau and Mouffe point out that the concept of "war of position" introduces a radical ambiguity into the social which prevents it from being fixed in any transcendent signified. This happens because, on the one hand, "society" constitutes its own laws of rationality and intelligibility by expelling any surplus of meaning subverting it and, on the other hand, insofar as the frontier varies with the fluctuation in the "war of position" the identity of the actors in confrontation also changes. However, the use of this concept in Gramsci supposes the division of the social space into two camps

and presents the hegemonic articulation as a logic of mobility of the frontier separating them. Laclau-Mouffe, however, accept that the existence of two camps may in some cases be an effect of the hegemonic articulation but not its a priori condition. The proliferation of political spaces and the complexity and difficulty of their articulation are a central characteristic of advanced capitalist social formations. There is not here a political space divided into a dichotomy. Thus, Laclau-Mouffe speak of democratic struggles where these imply a plurality of political space and of popular struggles where certain discourses tendentially construct the division of a single political space into two opposed fields. For them the fundamental concept is that of "democratic struggle" and that "popular struggles" are merely specific conjunctures resulting from the multiplicity of equivalence effects among such democratic struggles.⁴⁶

It is thus clear that Laclau-Mouffe have moved away from two aspects of Gramsci's thought: (a) his insistence that hegemonic subjects are necessarily constituted on the plane of the fundamental classes and (b) his postulate that, with the exception of interregna constituted by organic crisis, every social formation structures itself around a single hegemonic centre. But how do things stand once the privilege of the final class core has been dissolved and what happens, if we refuse the structure of the social around a single hegemonic centre?



As we have seen earlier, Laclau and Mouffe do not see hegemonic force as pre-constituted and situated on another ontological plane, but constitutive within and through discourse, in terms of an exteriority existing between subject positions located within certain discursive formations, in the general field of discursivity. Thus, in modern times where the reproduction of the different social areas takes place in a permanently changing condition which constantly requires the construction of new systems of difference and hence the

"area of articulatory practices is immensely broadened, it is not possible to arrive at a complete interiorization that totally bridges the gap between articulated and articulator. But neither is it possible for the identity of the articulating force to remain separate and unchanged: both are subjected to a constant process of subversion and redefinition".⁴⁷

Also Laclau-Mouffe indicate that the frontal opposition of many groups to a system can cease to be exterior to it and become simply a contradictory but internal location within that system. Here we can see an affirmation of Poulantzas's analyses of the constitution of the power bloc and of internal contradictions. In addition Laclau-Mouffe, argue that: a hegemonic formation also embraces what opposes it, insofar as the opposing force accepts the system of basic articulations of that formation as something it negates, but the place of the negation is defined by the internal parameters of the formation itself".⁴⁸ Thus they tackle from their point of view the relation between the hegemonic power bloc and the subjected social classes and/or social groups in terms of

a relation interiority/exteriority corresponding to that of Poulantzas when he defines the state as condensation of the relationship of social (class) forces (eliminating of course, in Laclau-Mouffe case, the commitment to the characteristic of forces as "class").

A further problem is that of the singleness of the hegemonic centre. Laclau-Mouffe argue -in contrast to the three previous political theorists- that in a given social formation, there can be a variety of hegemonic nodal points. Some of these may be highly overdetermined and thus become the focal points of a multiplicity of totalising effects. But insofar as the social is an infinitude not reducible to any underlying unitary principle, the mere idea of a centre of the social has no meaning at all. Since hegemony is quite simply a political type of relation and not a determinable location within a topography of the social, we must ask ourselves about the forms of relation existing between hegemony and the social. In other words, the problem is posed of the concepts "autonomization" of spheres and the forms of the struggle and/or the "relative autonomy" of the state.

We have seen previously that the attempts to combine the premise of a sutured society with the concept of autonomy inconsistent with it has led to an impasse. But how does one confront the problem since the hypothesis of a final closure of the social has been rejected? If the identity of the social spaces is always precarious, it is not possible simply to affirm the equation between

autonomy and dispersion. "Neither total autonomy nor total subordination is, consequently, a plausible solution". This means that autonomy and subordination -and their different degrees of relativity- acquire their meaning only in the field of hegemonic practices, that is, in the field of conjuncture. In other words, "the autonomization of certain spheres is not the necessary structural effects of anything, but the result of precise articulatory practices". That is, autonomy appears as "a form of hegemonic construction".⁴⁹ However, we will return later to this point when we refer to the State and Education.

Laclau and Mouffe follow this logic, as well, analysing the "autonomy" of various social movements. If the identity of these social movements were constituted once and for all, the problem would be posed only in terms of autonomy, but if their identities depend on certain precise social and political conditions of existence, autonomy itself can only be defended and expanded in terms of a wider hegemonic struggle. It is through this hegemonic struggle that stable forms of overdetermination among such contents are constructed, that is, anti-racism, anti-sexism and anti-capitalism, which left to themselves, do not necessarily tend to converge. In other words, autonomy is not opposed to hegemony, but an internal moment of a wider hegemonic operation.

The centrality of the hegemonic articulatory moment derives from the fact that no-social identity is ever totally acquired. Besides that no-hegemonic logic can

account for the totality of the social and constitute its centre, for in that case a new suture would have been produced. Thus, the problem of power cannot be posed in terms of the search for the class and the dominant sector which constitutes the centre of a hegemonic formation, given that such a centre will always elude us. But it is equally wrong to suppose as an alternative solution, either pluralism or the total diffusion of power within the social, because then we would ignore the presence of nodal points and the partial concentration of power existing in every concrete social formation.

Here we can see clearly that many of the concepts of classical analysis-centre, power, autonomy etc, are reintroduced through a redefinition of their status: all these are defined as contingent social logics, which as such acquire their meaning in precise conjunctural and relational contexts, where they will always be limited by other -frequently contradictory- logics. None of them has absolute validity, however, in the sense of defining a space or structural moment which could not in its turn be subverted. In contrast to Poulantzas, in whom the relational and/or conjunctural have always a structural interconnection-power, class (relational/structural), state (relational/conjunctural/structural)-Laclau & Mouffe connect the relational with the conjunctural and exactly this gives a new widened and enhanced dynamism to the articulatory practices in general and, more specifically, to the hegemonic ones.

The centrality of the hegemonic articulatory moment and dynamic which it introduces with the link between the relational and conjunctural puts a specific stress on the question of subject; therefore, it is interesting to show clearly how Laclau-Mouffe deal with this matter. We have already touched occasionally on some aspects of the task: the rejection of a pre-constituted and unified subject and instead of it the acceptance of dispersed subject positions, as well as the negation of the Gramscian argument that the hegemonic subjects are necessarily constituted on the plane of fundamental classes. Let us now examine the question in more detail.

The question of the category of subject is separated out by Laclau-Mouffe into two different problems: that of the discursive or pre-discursive character of the category of subject; and that of the relation between different subject positions. With reference to the first problem, their position is absolutely clear. "Subjects" and "physically existing individuals" are two distinct concepts.

"Whenever we use the category of subject we will do so in the sense of 'subject positions' within a discursive structure. Subjects cannot, therefore, be the origin of social relation -not even in the limited sense of being endowed with powers that render an experience possible -as all 'experience' depends on precise discursive conditions of possibility".³⁰

Consequently, here we do not have a unified "subject", but subject positions given through discourses -a dispersion of subject positions (e.g. woman is not an essential subject; there is a multiplicity of positions of

this subject within the different social discourses: as wife, mother, working, pupil etc). However, we would not remain at this dispersion of subject positions, because then, these positions would acquire essentiality and we would simply substitute the essentialism of a totality for an essentialism of the elements. This is, precisely, a second problem. The answer here is: once there is an intersection of discourses within the social and some subject positions are overdetermined by others, a relational form of unification is created; relational in the sense of always partial and precarious. Thus human identity does not include simply an ensemble of dispersed subject positions, but also the forms of overdetermination existing between them. In the case e.g. of the subject "woman", there is, in the various form of construction of "femininity", a common element -"subordination" as general category- which has strong overdetermining effects in terms of the sexual division.

However, let us see how the problem of the relationship of different subject positions is connected to the problem of social classes. Here there is a radical shift from the theses of marxist tradition. Social classes are not constituted around interests determined by their position in the relations of production nor is the economic and political struggle unified by a concrete social agent-the class; nor is the unity or the future unity of the class conceived in terms of representation of class interests by the vanguard party. Class can be seen

only as a result as a discursive articulation. "No social linkage can be constituted except as an overdetermination of differences"⁵¹. The identity of social classes today is much less obvious than it was in 19th century. And more important, perhaps, "we can no longer see 'the people' or classes as the sole and self-evident protagonist of historical change"⁵¹. But this dissolution of the unity of traditional subjects has led to the proliferation of points in society which have become loci of antagonisms. Laclau argues that we find ourselves in a paradoxical situation: there is, on the one hand, a generalization of social struggles and a multiplication of the points of rupture (e.g. different social movements); but, on the other hand, there is also a clear decline of the hegemonic ability of the traditional institutions (parties, trade unions). This new situation is called by Laclau "crisis of governmentability" and he suggests, as a solution, "the construction of a new hegemony" which is conceived as a differential articulation, not founded on the necessary centrality of any one sector, but which constructs a new "popular historical subject starting from the points of convergence of the numerous fragments generated by democratic struggles during the past decade".⁵¹. The idea included in the construction of the "new hegemony" is that of "interruption"⁵² which is different from that of "interpretation" implicit in Gramsci's hegemony.

It is necessary, now, to scrutinise how the relationship between state and education emerges through

these theoretical developments of Laclau-Mouffe. First, we should notice that the state does not occupy any specific locus in the up-to-date theoretical analyses of L-M. They, in a post-marxist and post-structuralist consideration and/or reconsideration of the wider social space - rejecting the idea of pre-constituted and/or sutured social totality- try to construct a radical strategy for the Left, without being deeply concerned with the question of the state. Thus, we have to try to conceive the implications of their general theoretical analyses on the specific question of the state.

Since the identity of every social entity is relational, constitutive, precarious and non-fixed, it follows that the state also has a discursive character; that is, it is a discursive formation. This means, that the type of link joining its different elements is not unity in any form of historical a priori, but regularity in dispersion. This in its turn also means that the different branches of the state have a discursive nature as well, they are discursive moments within a relatively stable system of differences, whose totalizing horizon is shaped through the logic of equivalence. These considerations on the nature of the state and the state branches and apparatuses are reinforced by the following assertion by Laclau-Mouffe: "...the state is not a homogeneous medium, separated from civil society by a ditch, but an uneven set of branches and functions, only relatively integrated by the hegemonic practices which

take place within it."⁵³

The relational identity of the state is that which allows Laclau-Mouffe to argue that there is neither total autonomy nor total subordination.

"The autonomy of the state as a whole -assuming for a moment that we can speak of it as unity- depends on the construction of a political space which can only be the result of hegemonic articulations. And something similar can be said for the degree of unity and autonomy existing among the different branches and apparatuses of the state."⁵⁴

Here we can note some similarities of L.- M.s' arguments about the degree of autonomy of the state and its apparatuses to those of Poulantzas. These similarities are due to the fact that they have two common points: the relational identity of the state and state apparatuses and the use of the concept of articulation. These resemblances permit Poulantzas to speak of a relative autonomy of the state which depends on the conjuncture in the sense of condensation of social forces, on the one hand; and Laclau-Mouffe to speak of degree of autonomy, which depends on the conjuncture in the sense of antagonistic articulatory practices, on the other. Their argument for the different branches and apparatuses of the state is similar. However, here their similarities end and their differences emerge due to their different points of departure.

Laclau-Mouffe tend to reduce the specificity of the state, in a sense, incorporating it in civil society. For them, it is impossible to identify either the state or civil society a priori as the surface of emergence of

democratic antagonisms. The state as well as civil society is the seat of numerous antagonisms and democratic struggles. The division between the state and civil society can constitute the fundamental political line of demarcation only in the case that the state "has been transformed into a bureaucratic excrescence imposed by force upon the rest of society as in Eastern Europe, or in the Nicaragua of the Somozas."³³ They also see a tendency towards a dissolution of the distinction between the public and the private "not in terms of the encroachment on the private by a unified public space, but in terms of a proliferation of radically new and different political spaces;"³⁴ they put emphasis on the plurality of the social subjects and the emergent democratic antagonisms.

The extent of L. - M.'s theoretical developments becomes apparent when we consider how they open up the horizon for the study and analysis of the state and the state branches or apparatuses in terms of closure/openness, interiority/ exteriority, equivalence/difference and of overdetermination. Such an analysis may lead to a better understanding of the form of the contemporary capitalist state and cause us to focus on the fields and the extent to which the condensation of the state power is revealed, since as L.-M. argue, power is never foundational but every form of it is constructed in a pragmatic way and internally in the social through the opposed logics of equivalence and difference. This point is very significant and a hegemonic strategy should take it into

consideration.

We shall now analyse what is happening in education in order to conceive how the relationship between state and education is revealed, in the Laclau-Mouffe's analysis, we should remember what they say about "moments" of a discourse: "In an articulated discursive totality, where every element has been reduced to a moment of that totality, all identity is relational and all relations have a necessary character."⁵⁷ In a second step, explaining the necessary character, they transcend Benveniste's view of the close dependence of the "moments" of every structure. Making a distinction between "discursive structural formation" -in which the practice of articulation would be impossible- and "discursive formation", they argue that the latter is not a sutured totality and the transformation of the elements into moments is never complete.⁵⁸ This means that education, as a moment of state discourse, should not be seen in terms of regularity of a system of structural positions, but in terms of an ensemble of differential positions,⁵⁹ that is, regularity in dispersion. Education, on the one hand, has a relational identity -as a moment of a discourse and also as a discourse itself- which acquires its meaning in the field of overdetermination and, on the other hand, has an autonomy from the State. The degree of relativity of which depends on the antagonist hegemonic practices, that is, on the conjuncture.

In this sense there is not any pre-given reason or structural effect which determines either the role of

education (e.g. reproduction of the dominant ideology or correspondence to the demands of economy etc.), or the degree of its autonomy from the state or from class struggle. Instead, all these are negotiable, constitutive and precarious, always threatened by subversion.

This character of education implies that, if we want to shape a radical democratic educational policy we should analyse the contemporary status of educational discourse; focus on the nodal points and the chains of their equivalences; specify the frontal effects; assess the antagonistic attempts of hegemonic articulations; conceive the degree of fixation of its partial moments and consider the degree of its autonomy from the state and the other state branches and apparatuses.

This simple presentation -naturally not definitive- of the tasks, which should be examined, shows from another point of view the broadening of the horizon attributed to Laclau-Mouffes' theoretical analyses.

2. On a reconsideration of the concepts of strategies, tactics, practices and organization

The reconceptualization of social subjects as a precarious unity of subject-positions and the centrality of the hegemonic practices require the elucidation of some concepts which are of particular importance to the extent that the emphasis of social process is transferred from the structure of the system to human action; by this we mean specifically the concepts of strategies, tactics, practices and organization. The problem which is posed here could be expressed by the following questions: Once there is not an essence or a centre (economic base, system of values or subject) which determines the formulation of strategies, tactics, practices, how can they be conceived? What is the nature and their function?

If we begin from a military context, Clausewitz's axiom is impressive: "War is a mere continuation of politics by other means". Foucault also stated that power is "a war-like relation".⁶⁰ On the contrary, from what we have seen in Laclau-Mouffe's analyses of antagonisms and power we could say that antagonistic and/or power relations are not the same as the military ones. The latter are, in some sense, objective relations, the adversaries are already there. Power relations, on the other hand, do not have any total presence; they are not about a grand or even local "war" in which "forces" do battle or engage in struggles and they are not only the "means" as Clausewitz claimed, which differentiate war from politics.

As to the meaning of the terms "strategy" and

"tactics" in the military field we read in the Encyclopaedia "Britannica": "Strategy is the practical adoption of the means placed at a general's disposal as the attainment of the object in view". "Tactics is the art of fighting battles". In the same encyclopaedia it is stated: "The nature of tactics used in battle often is dependent upon the strategic dispositions of forces; and the tactical possibilities of forces involved will influence the strategic plan of operations". We can now see their inter-connection.

We shall now come to the field of sociology and more specifically of power relations. Foucault says: "Power is the name given to a complex strategic location within a given society".⁶¹ Poulantzas remarks: "The political power of a class... depends ... but also on the position and strategy it displays in relation to other classes -on what I have called opponent strategy."⁶² Laclau-Mouffe entitle their book "HEGEMONY & SOCIALIST STRATEGY" and they distinguish two kinds of strategy: "a strategy of opposition" and a strategy of "construction of a new order".⁶³ Wittgenstein uses the term "Syntaxis" and H. Staten explains that: "this syntax ... is strategic."⁶⁴ Derrida also, to restrict ourselves to some examples only, writes: "making out difference, everything is a matter of strategy and risk... In the end it is a strategy without finality. We might call it blind tactics."⁶⁵ It is evident that these terms have been used in various ways in the

social sciences. Locating the use of these concepts in the words of Foucault, Wickham, Poulantzas and Laclau-Mouffe, indicating their common points and their differences and having as guideline the non-essentialist approach, we will attempt to reach some conclusions which will allow us to answer the questions we have asked.

All the above sociologists agree that power is not a measurable quantity or a quality attached to a class "in itself" understood as a collection of agents, but depends on and springs from a relational system of places occupied by the particular agents. In addition they seem to agree that every power relationship implies at least "in potentia" a strategy of struggle in which the two forces do not lose their specific nature and do not finally become confused. Each constitutes for the other a kind of permanent limit, a point of possible reversal. The confronted forces do not have a total preconstituted identity; a relation of confrontation produces at the same time its subjects as well. However, at this point their views diverge as to "how" the subjects are constituted. which in its turn has its implications on the meaning and the function of strategy.

Foucault has elaborated more than the others the meaning of strategy. He argues that the term "strategy" is currently employed to designate the means used to attain a certain end, the manner in which a partner in a certain game acts and the process used in a situation of confrontation to deprive the opponent of his means of

combat and to force him to give up the struggle. So strategy is defined by the choice of winning solutions. However, he points out that there are others, apart from these special types of situation, in which the term strategy has a different meaning. He distinguishes the power strategy and the strategy of resistance. In treating power in micro-terms, Foucault calls into play the joint notion of Technologies (apparatuses , dispositifs) and Techniques, procedures used in the operation of power, and suggests that all technologies must be analysed in terms of their function and strategies within which they are integrated. According to Foucault there are specific strategies, tactics and techniques, which function in the particular mechanisms of power relations -starting from the smaller elements of social body- and through a progressive globalization of strategies and tactics an increased concentration of power into a form of dominance become successful. This is a concentration which always remains partial and a dominance which is never integrated.⁶⁶ In their turn, these forms of dominance and these global strategies enforce and adapt the particular strategies and tactics. That is, we have in this case the characteristic "circular project" of Foucault's method. Minson says that Foucault's notion of strategy denotes "a regularly reproduced pattern of effects, including the (re) drawing up of e.g. performative plans."⁶⁷

Wickham criticizes Foucault for slipping into essentialism as he appears to use the unification of power

relations and strategies. Because such a unification "necessarily involves the invocation of an essence, which is used as a principle which unifies the relations of practices beyond their specific sites, beyond their specific conditions of existence."⁶⁶ For him the larger and more global sites of power relations should not be seen as unifications or embodiments of the smallest ones in terms of the global strategies, as happens in Foucault; but we should rather conceive them as a specific intersection of practices around specific operational policies, which are granted the status "global" because of the number of other sites, which reproduce or repeat as objects within their own boundaries. These sites which are repeated in this way are not incorporated into the global sites; they exist separately, although of course they may themselves repeat some aspect of more global sites. In fact we believe that Wickham's approach breaks with the residues of essentialism and it is in agreement with Laclau-Mouffe's theoretical analysis. Similarly, it does not lead to an abandonment of the notion of political concentration of power about which both Laclau-Mouffe and Foucault argue, since finally Wickham accepts the existence of global sites not only on the level of a country, but also on an international level (World Bank, International Monetary Fund, International Commerce etc). We should also stress that Wickham does not abandon the notions of strategies and tactics, but he rejects the closed unified character they seem to take in Foucault's analyses. For Wickham, strategies and tactics

are formulated and function around specific objectives limited by specific operational policies, which refer either to small or to global or even more global sites. The point of this disagreement is that the policies of the strategies of the smaller sites are not embodied in the policies or strategies of the global sites.

We have already seen that Foucault has distinguished a strategy of power and a strategy of resistance. "... like power, resistance is multiple and can be integrated in global strategies."⁶⁹ Resistance is formed and functions as part of "plebeian quality or aspect" which resides in the "social body". This "plebeian quality or aspect" operates as a "counter-stroke" to power. This argument for the "plebeian quality" has been criticised both for an essentialist understanding of power and resistance. Foucault appears here to see resistance as an expression of an essence -of "plebeian quality"- which "stands outside relations of power as their limit, their underside, their counter-stroke that which responds to every advance of power."⁷⁰ Thus, a new exteriority appears to subordinate at once resistance and power.

Summarising, Minson says that, according to Foucault, Power:

"produces, fixes in place and manages 'resistances' making resistances into 'supports' as well as 'targets' or 'adversaries'" and concludes by commenting that "unsuccesses in the exercise of power cannot be simply registered as such. Tactical failure may be counted in more than one sense, a strategic advantage."⁷¹

However, though this last comment is indeed interesting

and it is possible for somebody to lose a battle in order to win a war, we do not accept that power determines resistances to such an extent, such a manner. Thus, in this point also we will agree, to some extent, with Wickham, who says that resistance is not determined by any essence such as "plebean quality or aspect".

"Resistance like power relations, has no fixed or unified form and no fixed or unified location. It exists in specific intersections of practices formed around operational policies and the objectives they encompass."⁷²

We shall now come to examine the question of subject because as Dreyfus-Rabinow have asked:

"How can we speak of a strategy without a strategist? Foucault again argues that strategies do not have subjects, but they are formulated around objectives, which are not attributed to subjects."⁷³

He uses the term "biopolitics" to denote the effectiveness of power working on individuals in the sense of bodies. "...the myriad of bodies which are constituted as peripheral subjects, as a result of the effect of power."⁷⁴ Here Foucault erects power into an essence since subjects are "results of its effects" apart from the one-sided -we could say- approach to the matter of subject. His approach, which does not help us to identify the forces included on each side of power relations, is best understood as the construction of "personal" categories such as the human person, the child, mother, father, sexual identities etc.⁷⁵ Thus, it is closed to Laclau-Mouffe's arguments for subject positions and their discursive constitution. Also, Philip's view⁷⁶ is in agreement with the above writers. Wickham, referring to the above approaches to strategies, gives an

answer to the question asked:

"While strategies cannot be said to have subjects who or which possess and operate them, this is not because they develop without subjects. Rather it is because the subjects associated with them are produced and/or reproduced or repeated in specific sites just as strategies themselves are produced and/or repeated in specific sites."77

At this point we will venture to pose the question of subject as we understood it in relation to the matter of strategies and tactics and to the views of Laclau-Mouffe. Once we accept that the subject is constituted as an always partial unification of its various positions in "society" through overdetermination, we should also accept that one or some of its positions have a higher overdetermining role in the shaping of its personality. This should explain the extent and particularly the intensity of interests expressed by somebody in one or more social or other fields. This fact indicates to some extent, the reason why in the case of an operational policy, the participation or the reaction of those interested is not uniform and united. Some, whose identity is overdetermined by related positions, express particular interest, initiative and action and thus construct the core of the force which is formed (and it forms too) during the course of strategies, tactics and practices around an objective or objectives of the concrete antagonism. Thus, we can see clearly that the conception of subject in terms of Laclau-Mouffe can elucidate the constitution of subjects on the sides of the relation of power -that is, the field of the intersection of practices- and the parallel constitution of strategies

and tactics which go together within and through articulatory practices.

This approach shows the conjunctural and contingent character of their constitution without overlooking the preexistence of an objective nor the importance of strategies and tactics, nor even their effects on the constitution of subject. What it tries to bring to light is how articulation, together with interaction of all these factors, can be successful in a given conjuncture. Thus, we could say that here we have an effect of "finalization relative to an objective", as Foucault⁷⁸ argues, broadened, however, by the participation and the constitution of subjects.

Now we can summarise and complete what we have said with reference to strategies and tactics. The term "strategy" is used to specify in a general framework and, in their interconnection, the means and the procedure required for a victorious outcome and its aims. The term "tactics" is narrower compared with "strategy" and it is used to specify -in a more specific and concrete framework and in their interconnection- the means and the procedure required for the success of the strategic aims. Thus, we can say that strategy refers to final aims, the "visions" (orama) of an operational policy, while tactics⁷⁹ refer to "attainable" (eficto) targets of a course towards "visions". Strategies and tactics of power or resistance - incorporating smaller sites- repeat the smaller sites within their boundaries and the smaller sites repeat them

or aspects of them, within themselves. The agents who or which operate in specific sites of power or resistance and who or which may be persons, types of persons (e.g. Ministers, teachers, workers etc.) or groups or companies of Trade Unions, or Parties or Governments are produced or repeated within these sites around and/or some objectives or targets.

This conception of the nature and operation of strategies and tactics does not guarantee a necessary connection between strategies, tactics and outcomes; the contingent and non-intentional effect always retains its place. As Foucault expresses it "people know what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what that they do does."¹⁰

Thus, we enter into the field of another concept: that of practices. Analysing Laclau-Mouffe's reconceptualization of the concept of hegemony we have repeatedly referred to the concept of practices; here we will summarise the main points and will proceed to the relations of practices to tactics and strategies with which - we could say - they merge in reciprocal and continuous interaction, to the discourse of every systematic human action.

First of all, we should indicate that speaking of practices we refer to social practices which according to Laclau-Mouffe, are in one of their dimensions articulatory; that is, they establish relations between elements in such a way that their identities are modified, constructing

totalities called discourses. Within the field of articulatory practices the hegemonic ones are included. Thus defined articulatory practices tend to construct a new unified "centre" of society, which is different from an underlying principle, a determining base or a transcendental subject. They have also relational identity and they are not in a relation of total exteriority to the articulated elements, but they are found within the general field of discursivity. This is what dislocates the distinction between discursive and non-discursive practices and bridges the old dichotomies. Subject is not in a relation of total exteriority of an object (since it is also within the field of discursivity) but it is discursively constructed by subject positions. On the other hand, every discursive practice, according to Laclau, has a material character, ⁸¹

Having in mind what we have said about strategies, tactics and practices two questions can be raised: (1) whether their combination leads us to a teleological unity of a project; and (2) whether we have to abandon the concepts of strategies and tactics because of the condensed character and the Power with which practices appear. Laclau-Mouffe give a negative answer to the First question, by saying: "the objective world is structured in relational sequences which do not necessarily have a finalist sense and which in most cases do not actually require any meaning at all".⁸² Thus, every teleological unity of a project is reduced by the possibility at any moment of the appearance of the contingent. Foucault,

while recognising a high degree of conscious decision-making, planning and co-ordination of political activity at the local level (local cynicism of power), does not adopt the idea that the overall activation and directionality of power relations in a society implies a subject⁸³. To the second question the answer is also negative, because there are, according to Laclau-Mouffe, the antagonistic forms of relationship, which define limits, and the dispersed character of the particular practices. In Dreyfus-Rabinow we find the view that the interrelationship of practical capacities, the capacity of communication and the possibility of power, which is realised within practices has neither a determined form nor does it always appear in the same way.⁸⁴

Having said this concerning practices, we conclude that their unity and hence their identity is relational, constitutive and never totally fixed; consequently, they are not omnipotent. These practices produce, reproduce, transform or destroy discourses being produced, reproduced or transformed at the same time, in the "interstice" according to Foucault or where "an irresolvable interiority /exteriority tension" takes place, according to Laclau-Mouffe.

However, precisely the nature and operation of practices require their connection with strategies and tactics through which, and in reciprocal co-operation with them, they will acquire clarity of objectives and targets. They will do so through "compass of sailing", "maps of the

course" and coordination for a possible maximum increase of their effectiveness, always within limits. We use the term "limits" because we should never forget the conjunctural character of the whole action and the continual possibility of the presence of the contingent.

Now we have to examine another concept, that of organization, and to turn our attention to problems related to conditions and forms of organization of collective action, since we have conceived classes as constituted in and through discourse. The theoretical current which examined such problems was called by the Lash and Urry "game-theoretical Marxism" and started in the mid 1970s with Olson. Here it is not a question of analysing the whole problem of organization of collective agents of action but of indicating some of its sites, thus justifying our interest in it.

Marx believed that the workers would increasingly act in terms of their interests and these would be best served through organising themselves as a class, the proletariat. Olson says that, on the contrary, "class-oriented action will not occur if the individuals that make up a class act rationally"⁸⁵. Elster⁸⁶ rejects Olson's view arguing that concern and information lead to shared knowledge of the shared preferences of others and these in their turn would lead individuals to the preference of universal co-operation. Offe and Wiesenenthal break with the methodological individualism of Olson and Elster and are concerned with the different organizational forms, which

characterise the different social classes.⁸⁷ They suggest that associations of Labour, in order to cover a disadvantage in relation to capital, have to develop an alternative organizational form, which they call "dialogical". This form is opposed to the "monological" form of organization favoured by liberalism, which puts emphasis on the means rather than the ends, on short term accomplishments more than the long term and more on the quantitative criteria than the qualitative ones. But Lash has shown that this distinction does not greatly help.

In the analysis of this current there is another problem concerning the actors of a play, who are considered as preconstituted when the game starts⁸⁸. Here we cannot accept that the constitution of agents should or can stay out of the game. Rather, it lasts as long as the game. However, we can agree with Lash and Urry's idea of organizational and cultural resources which are at the disposal of a social formation rejecting their necessary class character.

In recent times, the development of the discussion around popular democratic struggles and populist ideology has led to an examination of the organizational structure related to populist parties. Criticizing Laclau in his first book Mouzelis points out: "if one means to demonstrate how populist interpellations relate to all the other dimensions of a social formation, it is not possible to avoid focusing on a complex political organizational process".⁸⁹ This is so because, as he remarks, "political

organizations are finally the concrete agencies which do the actual articulating and disarticulating"⁸⁹. Thus, Mouzelis examining the form of articulation of the populist Parties, argues that it tends to have a fluid, protean and weak organizational structure between leader and led and between the Leadership and the rank and file. This organizational structure makes the populist Parties different from both the purely clientelist parties⁹⁰ (whether of oligarchic or a more modern type) and the Western European Socialist and Communist ones, which have much more solid and autonomous intermediary organizational structures between leaders and led. Mouzelis declares that these observations do not imply class reductionism, but they pose the problem: whether the popular democratic demands, as they are defined by Laclau, are in fact compatible with other types of political organizational structures. On the other hand, if they are not, then it is necessary to show the organizational implications of this new hegemonic discourse. If this crucial dimension has not been conceptualised, he himself argues that the result must be either the presentation of classes as anthropomorphic entities, mysteriously articulating and disarticulating elements or an idealistic treatment of ideologies as self-unfolding essence. We can argue that as hegemonic discourse is not compatible with any organizational form whatever, in the same way organizational structure can put limits to the articulation of certain elements.

In summary we would say that the relational

character of the social ensures that the construction of a hegemonic discourse develops together and in a continuous interaction of strategies, tactics and organization and the corresponding constitution of its collective agents of action. These moments could never be totally fixed in space or time; we have no reason to accept that any of them is primary or prior to others; we should rather accept their synchronic construction and their close relationship. We can also accept that in every social formation there are specific organizational and cultural resources (specific forms of organization, linguistic codes etc) which can be a beginning for the extraction of the elements for the articulation or rearticulation of a hegemonic discourse, the strategy, the tactic, the practice and the organization of the agents of action in every concrete situation.

Within this context we should reject in general terms the forms of organization which have been developed hitherto by bourgeois, socialist-communist and populist Parties. Neither the clientelist character of the bourgeois Parties, nor the centralism of the socialist and communist ones, nor even the authoritarianism of the populist Parties could serve the popular democratic demands of our times and our society. Instead, we should adopt the principles of decentralization, democratic procedure, dialogue, wider participation in the centres of decision-making, democratic control, unlimited exchange of information, total respect for pluralism and free expression. In other words, we find ourselves on the side

of a new dialogical form of organization and we put specific emphasis on the definition and the establishment of an explicit collective identity, which should express the key elements of the hegemonic discourse and the vision of the strategy of the concrete hegemonic formation; collective identity which will be confirmed and reinforced within and through practices.

3.A Brief critical reference to some empirical studies of education

Having presented the development of the concept of Hegemony from Gramsci to Laclau and its implications for the relationship between State and education, we now consider it useful to make a brief critical reference to some empirical studies of education, which have, in some sense, been influenced by the previous theoretical approaches. We refer to the significant studies of Bourdieu-Passeron, Bondelot-Establet, Bowles and Gintis and B. Bernstein, which came to light in the decade of the seventies.

According to Bourdieu-Passeron, the main function of schooling is to reproduce the social hierarchies by converting them into academic hierarchies and thus, to legitimize existing social relations. In other words, the educational system ensures the reproduction of the structure of class relations hiding this fact under an apparently neutral attitude. They put emphasis on the fact

that children from different social groups or classes bring to school with them a different "cultural capital", which has been obtained on the basis of habitus. Thus, while school shows failure or success in examination as a result of gifts, merits or skills, it is not more than the result of unequal representation of the experience and culture of social classes at the level of school knowledge.

In delegating the power of selection to the school system, the privileged classes can appear to be abdicating to a "neutral" institution "the power of transmitting power from one generation to the other and thus to be renouncing the arbitrary privilege of the hereditary transmission of privileges."⁹¹ They also argue that the school appears to be autonomous in some ways from society as a whole⁹¹ but this autonomy is a facade for the reproduction of the social hierarchy.

On the other hand, Bourdieu argues that "habitus" acts as mediation between structures and practice; also, "the objective homogenizing of group or class habitus which results from the homogeneity of the conditions of existence is what enables practices to be objectively harmonized"⁹²; also, "habitus, the product of history, in accordance with schemes engendered by history."⁹³ In other words, according to Bourdieu the individual and collective practices tend to reproduce the existing social structures as the educational system does. Thus, we find ourselves within a closed system. From this point of view, it is characteristic that Bourdieu-Passeron, concerning the

reforms made in the French educational system in the sixties realized that these did not basically change its function. Why, then, did the reforms occur in the first place? In addition, the working class seems to have accepted its destiny and to have made no resistance. But, then, how does or could the system change? In general, their analysis is restricted to a structural-functional explanation of the maintenance and reproduction of the system and it does not cast any light on the theme of change at all.

While agreeing with much of what Bourdieu and Passeron say about education as a reproductive institution, C. Bondelot and R. Establet's interpretation differs on two basic points: (1) They describe French power relations in terms of their material base and not in terms of an institution. Thus, they consider that one class (bourgeoisie) dominates and uses the school system to reproduce this relation of dominating/ dominated, but those relations are rooted in its economic position; it is the ownership of capital and the control of investments which establish the power relationship. The school, in this view, reproduces this dominant capitalist position, primarily through the inculcation of dominant ideology. (2) They suggest that working-class pupils do not fully accept this attempt by the dominant class to impose its ideology. These resistances are often violent, but more frequently pupils simply display behaviour which interrupts the process of socialization and disturbs the culture of the school.²⁴

The indication of resistance in the school provides the beginning of a dynamic which is absent from Bourdieu and Passeron's work. However, they do not go on to establish any relationship between changes in the production system and changes in the education system. Their analysis is restricted to show that education reflects class relations, which are considered immanent in the mode of production, and to treat the educational system as a direct instrument of the bourgeoisie which uses it for its own ends, imposing a dominant ideology and reproducing a division of labour which suits bourgeois needs.

In the work of Bowles and Gintis the educational system is "an institution which serves to perpetuate the social relations of economic life" through "close correspondence between the social relations which govern close interaction in the work-place and the social relations of the educational system."²³ Thus, changes in the educational system are explained in terms of correspondence to changes in the productive sector. U.S. educational history is developed in terms of a dominant fraction of the ruling class using the educational system creatively to mediate the class struggle in the economy. Schooling remains an instrument with very little autonomy. While mediating to eliminate the class struggle in the base, the educational system itself does not become the place of class struggle. "The form and the content of the schooling was more often than not effectively out of their (working peoples') hands."²⁴ The reproduction of labour

power and the relations of production are considered as the role of education, but emphasis is put on its ideological, repressive side. Finally, because of their emphasis on the close ties between the capitalist relations of production and school reform, they lose sight of any possibility of educational change, which would not be entailed by the needs of production. For this reason they come to argue that: "the notion that the U.S. school system does - or even can under capitalism - effectively serve the interests of equality of human growth is going by the board... only revolutionary reforms have this potential."⁹⁷

B. Bernstein's significant work presents education as "a class-allocatory device, socially creating, maintaining and reproducing non-specialized and specialized skills and specialized dispositions which have an approximate relevance to the mode of production"⁹⁸. Class is conceived as "the fundamental dominant cultural category created and maintained by the mode of production" and "the basic classification, which creates the social relationship of production."⁹⁹ He introduces the concepts of "classification", [which is connected with the distribution of power (relations between categories)], "framing" connected with control and the realization of power relations, and "codes", which are transformations into specific semiotic principles of the relations and realizations. Thus, class codes appear to have "their origin in the social division of labour and its social relations of material production"¹⁰⁰, since educational

codes refer to the underlying principles of cultural reproduction. Bernstein has tried to show how the class system acts upon the deep structure of communication in the process of socialization¹⁰¹ and suggests that variations in the codes of education and production are different historic realizations of class.⁹⁹ He argues that there is a strong classification between education and production; a "systemic" relation which creates the condition for the relative autonomy of education. However, the class-based distribution of power and modalities of control are made substantive in the form of transmission/acquisition irrespective of variations in the systemic relationship between the codes of education and production.¹⁰² In other words, "the mode of production is anterior" (and perhaps somebody can argue it determines in some sense) "to the mode of education."¹⁰² Bernstein, however, in contrast with Bourdieu-Passeron and Bowles-Gintis, accepts that education can and does create contradictions and inconsistencies: "variation, opposition and change inhere in the possibilities of code". Because of this he puts particular emphasis on the problem of change and distinguishes two kinds of change: the imposed and the provoked one. The former can be more a change in the modality of control; the latter may represent an attempt to change the distribution of power. He also argues that: "changes in Framing will at some point challenge the principle of classification and so the power relationships which it is transmitting."¹⁰³ These indications give Bernstein's work a dynamic, which is

absent from the other studies we have referred to.

Further, apart from the differences existing between the above studies, the more significant of which we have examined, the common feature to all is the fact that they see a state and an educational system serving the interests of the dominant social groups (class, fraction, bloc), which are able to concentrate more political power than the other social groups. That is, they share the meaning of the class-structured school system (relatively autonomous) and this in its turn means that they move within the framework of an already structured and unified society. The concepts they used representation, reflection, correspondence, reproduction, transmission, acquisition presuppose as "given" the existence of something else which is being represented, reflected, reproduced, transmitted or which there is a correspondence to. Irrespectively whether this "other" is called cultural capital, habitus, mode of production, codes, social or class relations, it is significant that it is considered to be pre-constituted, pre-given, unified and able to impose its representation, reflection and reproduction. Thus, we find ourselves bound to a structure which uncertainly hides behind mere coherence and leads us to forget the role of human activity. But, as we have argued, we should rather accept that objects, knowledge and relations are not simply representations of something else, but relatively stabilized moments of a discourse; they are the result of articulatory practices.

The language of class interest, class reflection and cultural reproduction emphasizes the role of school knowledge in a broader social context, but neglects the continuous human activity which makes school and knowledge possible. This language relates school to social structure while ignoring the construction of the school itself in and through discursive social practices. Thus, it avoids occupying itself with the problem of social change (Bourdieu-Passeron) or it leads to a strategy of social change, which asks for (revolutionary) change of the system (Bowles-Gintis), while ignoring strategies for change in the course of everyday perception and action.

The conception of the openness of the social and the constitutive character of difference permit us to see that the identity of each social element is neither pre-given nor closed, but constitutive and precarious. Instead of accepting the existence of any privileged centre which imposes its reflection, correspondence and reproduction within a closed system, we should rather accept that such centres or foundations are not more than contingent social logics, which acquire their meaning within exactly conjunctural and relational contexts. Thus, we turn our attention to the centrality of articulatory practices, which in their turn are being constituted within the frame of overdetermination and do not express or represent a necessity external to overdetermination itself.

This means that the openness and the discursive nature of the social, and not the model B/S which has led

to representation, reflection or reproduction, could be a more appropriate conception with which to pursue a sociology of education. In this approach the pregiven boundary lines and the fixed identities of the elements of the social collapse. State, education, economy etc. are examined not as essential entities, but as relational contexts which acquire their identity and hence their limits in and through discursive practices. Thus, themes as the degree of their autonomy, their role and function are not examined in terms of their determination by a pregiven reason or structural effect, but in terms of intersecting antagonistic practices where regulations have always a conjunctural and precarious character. Thus, light may be cast on the problem of social change by more than one view and new strategies for the pursuit of change may be developed instead of a static representation and reproduction (which discourages interest in transformative activity as practice); hence the horizon of the dynamic presence of hegemonic practices opens up. Beyond an individualism which sees repression removed from the needs of the unconscious and a structuralism which permits little room for transformative action, lies the openness of the social and the attempt to make continuous efforts of totalization in and through discursive practices of collective action.

4. Our theoretical model

Having already completed a critical presentation of the contemporary radical theoretical approaches of Laclau-Mouffe and the sociological studies from which this theory derives or with which it is more or less connected we have realised that L-M's theory, abandoning every commitment to the established positivist, essentialist and dogmatic currents, directs itself towards a radical approach to the social and political, the development of new social logics and new meaningful tools which afford us increased possibilities for analysis and understanding of the present-day situation. Thus, having scrutinised from another point of view some necessary concepts {strategies, tactics, organization} elaborated by Foucault, Wickham, Minson and supporters of the collective action current of thought {e.g. Olsen and Elster 1980} in addition to having critically referred to some studies in the sociology of education, we can now proceed to shape our theoretical model which we will enable us to approach the subject of our study. Furthermore it is necessary to elucidate the terminology which we employ and the methodological steps that we follow.

We have argued that we will approach P.A.S.O.K., State and Education in terms of the concept of hegemony reconceptualised by Laclau-Mouffe or in terms of a radicalised concept of "discourse", which starts from the presumption that the identity of every social element and the type of any social coherence is neither pre-given nor

is it closed but is precarious and non-fixed. We use the term "discourse" in a very general sense to mean a complicated articulatory practice -an amount of intersecting articulatory practices- in and through which the social elements articulated formulate or reformulate their identity, are maintained or destroyed and in and through which a continuous effort of social totalization takes place. We must also add that these multiple intersected practices do not express an external necessity nor are they pre-given, but their dynamic is found in a place which has come as a result of long term practices where a network of relations exists in constant tension or, in Laclau's terms, where an "irresoluble interiority-exteriority tension" takes place. These intersecting articulatory practices meet on the field of antagonism and dichotomise it to the extent that they manage to hegemonize external elements, consolidating, thus, their identities as poles of this dichotomy; that is, becoming hegemonic. The presence of antagonistic forces and the instability of the "frontiers" that separate them are presuppositions for their hegemonic status.

In other words, discourse is not considered as the inevitable product of a set of external historic conditions/social relations, nor is the creation of the immanent individual subjects. It is not the reflection of a consistent logic or principle- the teleological unfolding of an underlying imperative. Nor is it a reactive product of changing social conditions. It must be understood in

relation to its "surfaces of emergence", but it is not unproblematically determined by them. Consequently, just what would happen in a social place in a concrete period of time is not determined by an external necessity, nor however could there occur anything whatever, whenever and wheresoever; there is neither absolute interiority nor absolute exteriority, neither absolute enclosure, nor absolute openness long-term practices have restricted the place where the play of forces become possible or where the fights between the discourses take place.

We will argue that PA.SO.K.'s discourse was constituted within and from a historical conjuncture and at the same time it helped to constitute the events which comprised the historical conjuncture. That is, the relationship between the historical conjuncture and discourse is that of reciprocity rather than that of determination. There is not an a priori distinction between discourse and conjuncture; the limits being rather imposed by the researcher. It is also argued that PA.SO.K.'s discourse was not closed; it was found in a continuous procedure of modification, of articulation and rearticulation responding to other discourses and events. By "events" is meant a set of processes including their discursive incorporations rather than "advents", i.e. inevitable expressions of historical necessity. Events may occur out of a particular discourse and they are incorporated into it -possibly requiring a reorganization of the discourse- but they are never extra and non-

discursive.¹⁰⁴ Meaning is socially produced and "discourse" is not merely linguistic or mental operation, but incorporates the performative (Wittgenstein, Laclau-Mouffe).¹⁰⁵ Thus, institutions, strategies, displacements, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings, organizational procedures with the whole complexity of their relations are included in the meaning of discourse. The terms of strategies, tactics and organization we use in the sense defined towards the end of the section of our study "on reconceptualization of the concepts of strategies, tactics and organization."

What is more, by saying that in and through these practices the articulated elements form or transform their identity, are maintained or destroyed, we mean that the social identities remain always open and always subject to inversion, finding themselves in an articulatory relation. Consequently, the unity of society (the social totalization) is not conceived in terms of a pre-given, objective and unified whole which implies the existence of any centre (a constituting subject or Subject, objective laws or any set of rules); neither even in terms of a final entirety, but in terms of a discursive practice which establishes a network of relations and makes constant use of this in an attempt at social totalization. It is exactly here that the antagonistic form of relationship- which traces the limits of social totalization within the conjuncture- appears. The relative degree of unification which can exist within a set of social procedures depends

on concrete historical constructions and not on necessary relations. Hence we reject every form of reductionism (classism, statism, economism etc.) and the various concepts of classical analysis (Power, autonomy, state, class etc) as being constituted as privileged points or foundations. They lose their absolute validity defined as conjunctural social logics, which as such acquire their meaning in exactly conjunctural and relational contexts, where they are always restricted by other -frequently contradictory- logics. This also means that subjects do not pre-exist and afterwards come into conflict or enter into harmony, but they emerge from the place and there play their role.

The category of subject is conceived in terms of different subject positions, which however do not remain at this dispersion nor are they totally fixed in a closed system of differences. There are relations of overdetermination and totalization established among these dispersed positions. This logic entails a new conception of the relations between the social agents of "a historical bloc", based on the rejection of any dogmatic primacy and self-evident antagonistic role of any of them, and the acceptance of the constitutive character of social division. In this sense classes and class interests are not pre-given but they are constituted through the political practice; that is, they are the result of discursive articulation.

Under this general meaning and its materiality,

"discourse" is composed by a number of elements each of which may constitute from another point of view a partial "discourse". In this case, we have an "overarching" "discourse of discourses", a term used by Jessop and attributed to Laclau's conception of hegemony.¹⁰⁶

Thus we use the term "elements" to refer to aspects or parts of discourse -those which can be/are articulated- and the term "moments" to refer to specific phases of articulation when a new element is internalized, articulated in a concrete discourse, is modified or excluded. Elements or concepts which in their articulation constitute the discourse operate as nodal points partially fixing meaning in a specific moment. Hence the intelligibility of a discourse is conceived as an attempt at exhaustive mapping of the sequential character of the key-concepts or "nodal points" of the discourse, their articulation and their changing sociopolitical, economic or cultural referents.

The elements and the relationship between them change-rearticulations of old elements to "new" elements entered from other discourses constitute fresh moments. The elements of P.A.S.O.K.'s discourse (the concepts used) were not exclusively in this discourse, but they took their meaning within it from their changing relationship to each other in different times. The specificity of this relationship formulated the discourse in a given period of time.

Moreover, each concept is usually characterised in

terms of one or more binary oppositions"¹⁰⁷, whose nature and positive or negative valuation shifted over time and the discourse appears as a continuous creative combination of couplets. The couplets were not autonomous, but interdependent and the identity of each concept/couplet is specified at a given moment both through the nature of the opposition posed (explicitly or implicitly) and its relationship to other oppositions. In Laclau's words they were "articulated not like pieces of a clockwork mechanism, but because the presence of some in others hinders the suturing of the identity of any of them"¹⁰⁸.

Thus, for example, the concept of Hellenocentrism was constructed in conjunction with the conceptions the west-oriented direction of the Right Wing and the East-oriented direction of the Left Wing; the autonomous economic development with the dependent; self-organization with the person-centered character of the Bourgeois Parties and the Organization from above in the Left-Wing Parties. Neither the concepts nor their oppositions were given or stable. In the period 1974-81, the E.E.C. was negatively opposed to Greece ("Greece out of E.E.C."), while in 1981-85 it became positive. P.A.S.O.K.'s government not only kept Greece within the E.E.C., but also it steadily aimed at full integration within the Community as well as upgrading its role within it. The same happened in the relations Greece=/~~=~~N.A.T.O. and something relevant to that with the relations Greece=/~~=~~U.S.Bases. Also, the couplets of oppositions Greece=/~~=~~the E.E.C., Greece=/~~=~~ N.A.T.O., Greece

=/= U.S.Bases constructed in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, in the 1974-81 period, in conjunction with the couplets HELLENOCENTRISM=/~~WEST-ORIENTED~~ or EAST-ORIENTED direction, AUTONOMOUS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT=/~~DEPENDENT~~ et.al. were mutually defined and acquired a specificity significantly different from that taken in the 1981-85 period, when the nature of oppositions was re-valuated and modified.

Thus, the specificity of each concept derives from both the alternative counterposed to it and the other sets of oppositions in circulation, that is from its place in the articulated discourse. Also, the elements of discourse were changing, not in tandem but tangentially; colliding and bouncing off one another and, at each intersection of their paths, realigning the pattern that comprised discourse in each period of time. We likewise consider it necessary to note that while discourses are not closed, fixed interpreted and understood in only one way, in our study, we close them. Conventionally, we operate as if there was a "truth", a correct meaning to be derived from the analysis and interpretation of the articulation of their elements, or more concretely of their articulation as it is identified/interpreted by the researcher. The researcher makes a synthesis of an interrogation of the discourse and the conjuncture, makes the discourse of a given time intelligible in another time.

Conventionally, we close PA.SO.K.'s discourse within two periods: the pre-governmental period (1974-81), which was coloured by the vision of CHANGE and the 1981-85

governmental period, which was characterised by the practices of the changes noted. We will try to construct the intelligibility of PA.SO.K.'s discourse in each of these two periods or moments mapping as exhaustively as possible the character of its key composed elements, the formulation of the couplets of the counterposed concepts within the conjuncture, their articulation and their changing social, economic, political and cultural referents.

We consider the following to be composed elements- key elements- of PA.SO.K.'s discourse: SOCIAL SYNTHESIS, ORGANIZATION, TACTICS and STRATEGIES: SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION -with specific reference to NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, POPULAR DOMINANCE, SOCIAL LIBERATION - STATE, ECONOMY and EDUCATION (see visual diagram). The state and education, apart from the centrality they have in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, concern us specifically since their relationship is also subject of our study. For this reason we will dwell a little more on those elements.

Within this conception of the social, as constitutive practical totality, the state -as also the other social identities- has a discursive constitution and it is not a pre-given, solid, united whole (instrument, subject etc), but simply a contingent social logic; it is an "uneven set of branches and functions"¹⁰⁹ only relatively united by hegemonic practices which take place within it. It is not the a priori field of the emergence of antagonism and hence the unique place of concentration

of power. This means that the degree of concentration of power, as much as the degree of its autonomy and also its form and function, depend on intersecting articulatory practices within the conjuncture and it is not determined by a structural or other reason. Thus, the concept of "relative autonomy" and the topographic schema B/S lose their significance because they presuppose the existence of pre-given social identities. Likewise, the different apparatuses and branches of the state have a discursive constitution and their unity is the result of articulatory practices.

Education has a relational and constitutive nature and the degree of its autonomy from the other branches of the state -and the other elements of a discourse in general- as much as its role and function are not determined by a pre-given reason (economic base, social classes etc) but they depend on intersecting articulatory practices. Here we can situate the difference of the discourse approach from those approaching education in terms of reproduction, representation correspondence, transmission -acquisition and so on. These approaches presuppose privileged points and assume as given the existence of another, preconstituted and unified, that is a single reason or structural effect able to fix the identity of education and to determine its role and function. On the contrary, this discursive conception of education broadens the perspectives for analysis and understanding of the educational questions, because it liberates research

from the limits of certain directions (e.g. economic demands, reproduction etc) and turns attention to a global examination of the status of educational discourse, opening new horizons towards the question of change.

Education and state as well as all the elements, which constitute PA.SO.K.'s discourse are approached from two points: as specific partial discourse and as composed elements of PA.SO.K.'s wider discourse. Each element, as partial discourse, is examined in the articulation of its elements, their relationship to events and the elements of other discourses to which they refer and from which they feed; and their intelligibility is constructed more completely, since in succession, as elements of the wider PA.SO.K. discourse, they will be interrelated through their positioning within the discourse. In other words it is argued that in each from these two periods in which we close PA.SO.K.'s discourse, the meaning of its elements was being modified through differentiations of their confrontation to the elements of other discourses and their response to events of the conjuncture, through new incorporations and exclusions and through the changing relation of one element to the others.

Finally, we will argue that PA.SO.K.'s rise to power and its retention of it in 1985 can be understood through the modification in the meaning and coherence of its discourse. In the first case, PA.SO.K. -through its discourse- managed to dichotomise the field of antagonism and to become its dominant pole, that is hegemonic, while,

in the second, it maintained hegemony, eventhough it underwent a 2.5% decline of its electoral force.

P r o p o s i t i o n s

1st General proposition,

It is possible for a social agent to gain hegemony through and within articulatory practices without being necessarily constituted on the plane of one of the fundamental classes. This proposition is contrary to the view of Gramsci, who insists that only the fundamental classes can constitute a hegemonic force. It corresponds, however, to the position of Laclau, who postulates a discursive constitution for social identities in general.

Particular prepositions,

1.1. PA.SO.K. gained hegemony through a discourse not possessing concrete class connotation, but promising social change and applying practices which articulated elements from different socio political milieus, thus enriching their meaning.

1.2. PA.SO.K.'s discourse acquired strong coherence during the pregovernmental period which contributed to its gaining hegemony. However, the modifications in the meanings of its elements during the governmental period and the loosening of the discourse coherence because of them - in connection with the inability of the other parties - explain the decline of PA.SO.K.'s electoral force as well as the maintainance of its hegemony.

1.3. PA.SO.K. also applied strategies, tactics and

organizational procedures which were not preconstituted but were formulated.

1.4. The practices through which PA.SO.K. gained and retained hegemony were formulated in the field of antagonism defined in opposition to the practices of New Democracy and the two Communist parties within the conjuncture.

2nd General proposition.

Having accepted the overdetermination of social identities and rejected the one and only cause of determination we will argue that the relationship between state and education is not a relationship of determination but a specific relation specified by concrete articulatory practices within the conjuncture.

Particular proposition.

2.1. PA.SO.K.'s concrete practices in the field of state and education during its 1981-85 governmental period modified the identity of the state and that of education and constructed institutional mechanisms which regulated the relationship between them. We will specify these mechanisms and we will examine the degree of autonomy of education from the state.

3. Finally, we will examine whether our theoretical model has helped us to analyse, explain and understand the phenomenon of PA.SO.K. and to specify the relationship between state and education during the period in question. Also, we will note possible weaknesses in our theoretical model and we will pose questions for further examination.

WORLD WAR II
German occupation
NATIONAL RESISTANCE

E. A. M.
FREEDOM
POPULAR DOMINANCE
SOCIALISM

CIVIL WAR
(1944-1948)

DEPENDENT and DISTORTED
ECONOMIC and SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT

VIOLENCE and
FALSIFICATION in
the 1961 elections

UNYIELDING STRUGGLE
E. K. - E. D. A
DEMOCRACY
POPULAR DOMINANCE

DICTATORSHIP
of colonels

AGAINST DICTATORSHIP
STRUGGLES

P.A.K. : DEMOCRATIC
DEFENCE
FREEDOM and DEMOCRACY

POLYTECHNIC
BREAD-EDUCATION-FREEDOM

COUP D' ETAT AGAINST
MAKARIOS in CYPRUS

TURKISH INVASION
in CYPRUS

CRISIS in the NATO
RELATIONSHIP

POST-DICTATORSHIP PERIOD

EXISTING SOCIALISM
WESTERN SOCIAL DEMOCRACIES

THEORIES of NORTH-SOUTH
and CENTER-PERIPHERY

DIAGRAMMATIC PRESENTATION OF THE		KEY ELEMENTS IN P.A.S.O.K.'S DISCOURSE		TABLE I
Key elements	PREGOVERNMENTAL The vision of	PERIOD (1974-81) CHANGE		GOVERNMENTAL PERIOD (1981-85) The road of changes
SOCIAL SYNTHESIS	Equal social alliance of the progressive and democratic forces E.L.E	!= Hegemony of the working class != Individuals with clientelist relations	↔	The same couplets of opposition
ORGANIZATION	Party of principles recognising the role of the leader, making use of self-organization	!= Vanguard Party != Personalised Party	<- ->	Party WITH principles, != Vanguard leader in protag.role Party and united view != democr.centralism
TACTICS	Opposition "vision"/ "existing", small steps related to strategic targets with speed and popular participation	!= Opposition "attainable/ existing" != Projection of the leader only != Limited alterations != Determined stages	<- ->	Correlation "vision" != Attempted -attainable" modern manipul. Small..steps with != Negation & consensus citing of "risks" Polarization, one- != Two direct. directional struggle struggle
STRATEGIES	GREEK THIRD road to SOCIALISM	!= Existing Socialism != Social Democracy	<- - ->	Greek third ROAD != Existing Social. to Socialism != Social Democracy
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE	Greece belong to Greeks" OUT of NATO and the EEC Withdrawal of the U.S. bases.	!= "We belong to the West" != Within NATO - EEC and maintenance US bases != East-oriented policy	<- ->	Temporary main- != Here & now tenance in NATO rupture and of U.S.bases != Maintenance.. Nationalcentrist fight != Out of within the E.E.C. the E.E.C.
POPULAR DOMINANCE-DEMOCRACY	Power from, for and WITH THE PEOPLE. Co-existence represent- ative institutions with institutions of Popular participation.	!= ...IN THE NAME of the People != Representatives institutions only != One-party Statism	<- - ->	Almost the same couplets of opposition
SOCIAL LIBERATION	Abolition of exploit- ation, alienation and social inequalities.	Silence and != indifference about social inequalities	<- - ->	Lessening of exploit., Silence alienation and social != and in- inequalities difference
ECONOMY	MIXED: state, private and social sector in the framework of demo- cratic planning, Self- reliant economic develop- ment out of the E.E.C. Socialization key sectors	!= Privatization != Nationalization != Dependent and distorted economic development or/and nationalization key-sectors	<- ->	MIXED etc. != Privatization or Nationalcentrist fight national. within EEC & economic != Leaving convergence of the the E.E.C. country-members != Euro centrism Socialization of the != Distorted state sector only econ.develop.
STATE	Socialization of the State through institut. of P.partic.& S.control Lessening of bureaucr.& hierarchical structures Decentraliz., D.planning Welfare state with "one nation" strategy	!= Omnipotent state != Neutral state and clientelist relations != Overcentralism, bureau- cracy, central planning != State of the Party and "two nation" strategy	<- - ->	Small steps towards socialization of (As in the the State != previous period) Steps of lessening of bureaucracy etc. Towards welfare state with "one nation" strategy
EDUCATION	Socialized, democratic, decentralized.National- Popular and upgraded	!= Runderimentary articulation to society, centralised authoritarian relations != West-oriented modernism	↔	The same couplets of opposition

Notes to TABLE I

The visual diagram of the TABLE I presents briefly and graphically the "horizontal", diachronic articulation of the key elements of PA.SO.K's discourse.

On the left part the table appears the events of the conjuncture, to which the formulation of PA.SO.K's discourse is related directly (—>) or indirectly (--->) or to which PA.SO.K tried to respond through its discourse.

Subsequently the key elements of PA.SO.K's discourse are presented. To the right of each element there are the couplets of the main oppositions, which were created in the field of antagonism and within the conjuncture of its period as response to events and to the respective elements of the discourses of the other Parties and mainly those of New Democracy (N.D.) and the Communist Party of Greece (K.K.E.). From these oppositions the meaning of each element was constructed at a first level; we will see the second level of the construction and completion of their meaning from the position of the elements within PA.SO.K's discourse, from their "vertical" articulation (TABLE II).

Besides, the couplets of opposition are related between the periods through arrows which show if the meaning of the element remained stable (<—>), was slightly differentiated (<--->), or was modified (changed) (<-I I->).

For example: The oppositions, which were created as

to the element NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE during the first period (1974-81), were: "Greece belong to Greeks" (Hellenocentrism)=/ West ("we belong to the West") or the East-oriented policy. Out of NATO and the E.E.C, withdrawal of U.S.bases =/ Within NATO, the E.E.C. and maintenance of U.S. bases. From these oppositions the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE took the meaning of shaking off dependence on foreign centres of decision-making either in the East or the West.

However, in the period (1981-85), the oppositions changed. Greece remained in NATO and the E.E.C. and the agreement for the U.S. bases was re-newed for five years, since some conditions were secured and some reservations were stated. Thus, the couplets of oppositions became: - Temporary maintenance of NATO, U.S. bases, with conditions and reservations =/ Here and now rupture or maintenance without temporal or other restrictions. -National-centrist fight within the E.E.C.=/OUT of the E.E.C. The element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE acquired then the meaning of exercising the right to state conditions and to secure concessions, exercising National-centrist fight within the Western bloc.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS OF THE TABLE I

E.A.M.= National Liberation Front
 E.K. = Union of the Centre
 E.D.A.=United Democratic Left
 P.A.K.=Panhellenic Liberation Movement
 <—> No change in the meaning of the element
 <-I I-> Change in the meaning of the element
 <----> Differentiation in the meaning of the element
 =/ = Opposition

PART II

CHAPTER ONE

PRE-GOVERNMENTAL PERIOD (1974-81)

The vision of CHANGE

1. "Horizontal" articulation of the key elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse

PA.SO.K appeared on Greece's political scene through the publication of the Declaration of basic principles and targets on September 3rd 1974. This text, despite its uncertainty, the ambiguous language and its unclear expressions, functioned especially during the pre-governmental period we are examining as a point of departure and a stable point of reference of all PA.SO.K's practices which formulated its discourse in this period. The same declaration explicitly says that "it constitutes the compass which would give guidance to the progress towards a revived, human, socialist and democratic Greece" (see appendix one). Within this text the first significations for the key elements of PA.SO.K's discourse, the dominant oppositions and their interplay with the conjuncture and their articulation, may be traced. For this reason we quote it in the appendix.

If we should entitle the text of this Declaration, the most suitable heading would probably be "The vision of CHANGE". Greece had just emerged (1974) from the seven years of military dictatorship, which had been imposed under the "blessings" of the U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. revealing the degree of the country's dependence on foreign centres. These had neutralised popular dominance, abolished democratic procedures, raised obstacles and barriers to social liberation through an abundance of illiberal and anachronistic measures, which had led to economic decay, and had finally provoked, through the coup d'etat against Makarios, the Turkish invasion of Cyprus.

The change of the regime in 1974 was manufactured and delivered from above and the people were restricted to celebrations of Karamanlis's return, he being identified with the return of democracy. This smooth conveyance of power from the colonels to the politicians was accompanied by a climate of insecurity for the stability and consolidation of the transition, since the Junta's officials still remained in key posts. Thus, the interest of all (citizens and Parties) turned on the restoration and consolidation of democracy. Since the dictatorship, falling "softly" as it were, was considered as the "mad" activity of a few generals and was defined as a "momentary wrongful act", democracy seemed to be its physical contradistinction. Parliamentary democracy was the symbol of the smooth government of the country, since dictatorship constituted simply a deviation.

Thus the concept of democratization became central to the discourses of the Parties of the Right as much as that of the Centre and the Left. However, this concept created counter-actions among the different discourses and took different meaning within and through its articulation to the other concepts of each discourse.

The revelation of U.S.A.'s and N.A.T.O.'s connections with the military Junta and the attitude maintained by them during the Turkish invasion to Cyprus provoked a strong anti-american and anti- N.A.T.O. climate and brought to the forefront the national element, which in its turn constituted a central element in the discourses of all the political Parties.

Simultaneously, the Parties were called to respond to a number of problems connected with the then severe crisis: in the economic sector (aggravation of the economic structures articulatory problems, deterioration of long-term performance); in the institutional sphere (crisis in the state and institutions), in the political domain (crisis of all the forms of representation in the social organization); in the social sector (crisis of all the social arrangement, fragmentation and disarticulation of the whole social fabric) and, finally, in the cultural area (crisis of the lifestyle and of values). A crisis which was not only the result of the seven years government of the country by dictatorship, but whose roots went much more further and deeper; a crisis, however, which called up a decisive and effective response. Thus,

all the Parties spoke for "change" each of them, of course in its own way.

We can see, in other words, that the political Parties in their attempts to make a dialogue with the post-dictatorship Greek conjuncture (with the political, economic, social and cultural events) positioned the concepts of "democracy", of "change", of "national" and others about which we will speak later, as central elements within their discourses.

Titles always constitute also an attempt at condensed signification as to the meaning they include. Thus, with a first look at the titles of the Parties which acted during the post-dictatorship period we observe that the K.K.E. (Communist Party of Greece) and the E.D.A. (United Democratic Left) maintained the titles they had before this period, signifying respect and insistence on continuity in this way but also on stability in principles and targets. The Party of the Right, which before the dictatorship had the title National Radical Union (E.R.E.), although its leader, the founder of E.R.E., Mr. Karamanlis was the same, changed its name and took the title "New Democracy" thus signalling its emphasis on the concept of "Democracy". Simultaneously, with the concept "New" it was signifying the other central concept of its discourse, that of "Modernism". Something similar happened with the Party of the Centre Union (E.K.), which was named the Union of the Democratic Center (E.DH.K.). Finally, P.A.S.O.K. with its title showed its emphasis on

the "socialist" element of its character, while underlining indirectly that it addressed all the Greeks (Pan-hellenic), that it was different from the traditional Parties since it was characterised as a "movement" and not a Party and thus, as movement did not have a stable and consolidated form, but the dynamics and possibility of being formulated during its development.

Indeed, as resulted from the declaration of the 3rd of September, the **SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION**, the great **SOCIAL CHANGE**, was considered to be the "corner-stone of the Movement", the overweening strategic target. In the beginning we could argue that while the element of democratization in New Democracy's discourse prevailed the element of change held the more central position in PA.SO.K.'s discourse. Besides, we could say that these two elements played an overdetermining role within the two discourses.

As we can see in its founding declaration, even though PA.SO.K. made Socialist Transformation a central element of its discourse (appendix one) and it used hard language concerning Greece's dependence on the "imperialist establishment of the U.S.A. and N.A.T.O." it at the same time rejected Leninism explicitly and exercised a critique against the "Existing Socialism" in the U.S.S.R. and the countries of East Europe.

"The problems of Existing Socialism are not localized only at the economic level, but also in the whole of its social structure. And here, as much as in the imperialist camp the crisis is structural. The dispute transcends economic conditions and touches upon politics and

ideology"¹.Also" the model presented by Existing Socialism is rejected, because in developing a gigantic state conglomeration it has short-circuited Democracy, thus leaving man as subject of history outside the system"².

Besides, PA.SO.K rejected Marxism as a dogma³ and kept it only as a scientific method of analysis.

As we can see in the Declaration (see appendix), PA.SO.K. related the socialist transformation to democratic procedures⁴. Simultaneously PA.SO.K. was explicitly differentiated from the model of Social Democracy as developed by the Social Democratic Parties of West Europe and avoided placing itself within the Socialist International in this period.

Recognising that the course of gradual attainment could be equivalent to that of Social Democracy and thus be criticised for aiming at simply modernising capitalism (such a critique has been made by the Communist Party to the cost of PA.SO.K.), PA.SO.K. defined four characteristic points of distinction between its own course and that of Social Democracy:⁵

- The existence of an organic relationship between the intermediate targets and their location in a unified integrated project of radical change. Thus, the changes constitute part of an indivisible procedure of feeding back in the relationship of forces for the realization of socialist transformation.
- The proper speed through which the radical institutional changes are realized. This rhythm

should be so rapid as not to allow leeway for the system to absorb the change.

- The proper mode of realization of the intermediate targets and changes. The mode that PA.SO.K. adopts is based on the support on the part of the popular masses and on their active placing in the terrain of the struggle. That is, securing an electoral majority is not enough. An organised, contesting and politicised popular movement with a democratic structure and a decentralised function is required.
- The use of every previous achievement as a basis to support and push forward towards the next targets. This means a continuous shifting of the balances and relationship within the movement towards a constantly positive direction for popular forces.

Transcending Social Democracy on the one hand and Existing Socialism on the other, PA.SO.K. thus entitled its model the "Third Road" or the "Greek road to Socialism". According to PA.SO.K.,

"the Third Road is tantamount to a negation of the block (Eastern or Western). It was tantamount to the assurance of Party Pluralism, of social polyphony, of freedom of thought and action, and of citizens rights. It was tantamount to the socialization and social control of the means of production as much as of the means of power. It amounted to the dominance of national peculiarities and characteristics that define the form of the Greek Road towards Socialism, always according to the inspiration, the history and the tradition of the Greek people"⁶.

Thus, PA.SO.K. created two couplets of oppositions:

-Model of the Third Road \neq Model of Existing Socialism.

-Model of the Third Road \neq Model of Social Democracy.

From the first basic opposition a series of partial oppositions developed as:

-Multi-Party System \neq One Party System (Dictatorship
of Proletariat)

-Democratic procedures \neq Authoritarian imposition

-Decentralization of jurisdiction/decision \neq Over-
centralization,

-Democratic planning which starts from the base \neq
 \neq Central planning

-Socialization \neq Statism,

-Consensus \neq Violent repression of reactions

-Active participation \neq Passive attitude.

These oppositions were condensed by P.A.S.O.K. into the phrase: "From the People, with the People, for the People"

From the second basic opposition:

-Model of Third Road \neq Model of Social Democracy,
another series of partial oppositions is developed, as:

-Related targets \neq Non-connected changes

-Rhythm which assures the function of changes \neq

Rhythm which allows the system to absorb the changes

-Active support of the People \neq Simple assurance of
electoral majority

-Taking advantage of attainments \neq Neutralized changes

-Gradual but stable change of the system \neq Manipulation
or modernization of the system

From the first series of oppositions and the chains

of equivalences it entails, the element of socialism, already existing in the Communist Party's discourse, acquired a significantly different meaning through its articulation in PA.SO.K.'s discourse. The Communist Party had never rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat⁷ nor had it exercised any criticism of the model of Existing Socialism. Also during the series of the U.S.S.R.'s military interventions in countries of Eastern Europe and Asia, which provoked international reactions, the Communist Party had remained on the U.S.S.R.'s side. This attitude related -indirectly but explicitly- the element of socialism existing in its discourse to the Existing Socialism. Thus, in the discourse of the Communist Party, Socialism was identified with an over-centralized, one-Party, omnipotent State which centrally planned economic and social development, and which imposed in an authoritarian manner its decisions and repressed violently any reactions, condemning the citizen to passivity and society to isolation.

In contrast, in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, Socialism was identified with a multi-Party decentralized state organisation, which followed democratic procedures, planned democratically the economic and social development from the grass roots. It was based on consensus and active participation of the citizen, widening the role of society and correspondingly reducing the role of the State.

Here it becomes evident how, through the

contradictions in the field of antagonism and the articulation of elements to different discourses, an element/concept acquires different meaning in a given discourse at a given period of time. That is, the social production of meaning becomes clear.

From the second series of opposition and the chains of equivalences it entails, the Social Democratic element of Socialism, pre-existing in the discourse, acquired significantly a different meaning through its articulation to PA.SO.K.'s discourse. In the discourse of Social Democracy, . Socialism seemed to be identified with disconnected, neutralized transformations, which allowed leeway for the system to absorb them, for the realization of which the assurance of an electoral majority was enough and which finally was restricted to manipulating or modernizing the capitalist system.

In PA.SO.K.'s discourse, on the contrary, Socialism was identified with the attainment of the related intermediate targets, with a rhythm which prevented the system from absorbing them, with the active support on the part of the people and with continuous pushing forward of Socialist transformation, based each time on realized targets. From the interconnection of these two oppositions (concerning the model of Existing Socialism and Social Democracy) the socialist element acquired a new intelligibility in PA.SO.K.'s discourse.

Socialism, now, denoted a multi-Party, decentralized state organization, which followed

democratic procedures, planned the economic and social development democratically and from the grass-roots, realized interrelated intermediate targets having the consensus and active participation and support of the people; following a rhythm, which prevented the system from absorbing its attainments; widening the role of society and reducing at the same time the role of the state; taking advantages, also, of targets realized each time to continuously propel forward the socialist transformation.

Having acquired this meaning in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, socialist change removed the inhibitions with which it was connected as an element of the Communist Party discourse (inhibitions related to the one-Party system, to statism, to authoritarianism etc.) and it was becoming not only likeable, attractive and interesting, but also accessible, familiar and imminent, as it was related to small "every-day" steps, to intermediate changes. Simultaneously, interconnecting the intermediate targets with the vision of the socialist transformation and the active participation and support of the people, the change in PA.SO.K.'s discourse was proceeding away from the meaning of "democratization" and "modernization" in the New Democracy's discourse, a meaning which in the better case tended to approach that of Social Democracy.

PA.SO.K., however, related Socialist change to National Independence as well. In its founding declaration we read:

"The root of the calamity is found in our country's

dependence..." National Independence connoted for PA.SO.K."throwing off the bonds of the manifold dependence (political-military, economic, socio-cultural) and first of all smashing the dependence of the state on foreign decision-centres and dealing radically with the erosion of the state by mechanisms under foreign control"^a.

Throwing off this dependence was conditional on: an "uncommitted", multidimensional and very powerful foreign policy, autonomous economic development, ridding politics and the state of foreign influence and building up a cultural identity. According to PA.SO.K.'s analysis, the "uncommitted" foreign policy does not rule out entering into commitments. It countenances them when: a) They are in the Country's interests, (b) they spring from decisions made freely without pressure or blackmail, (c) they do not involve interference by "third parties" in the country's internal affairs, (d) they are open to revision without prejudice, when that is in the country's interests. It is precisely these conditions that conflict with Greece's membership of NATO and the E.E.C. and necessitate the revision of the treaties allowing the U.S.A. military bases on Greek soil.

More particularly, Greece's membership of N.A.T.O. violates all form of the conditions mentioned above because:

(a) "It does not guarantee the country's territorial security even from encroachment by N.A.T.O.'s allies (Turkey). (b) Greece's membership and the special form of 'cooperation' was and is the result of pressure and blackmail. (c) It involves interference in Greece's internal affairs (the seven years of military dictatorship were the crudest form of interference). (d) Every move to have Greece's position revised is penalised (as

through the promotion by the U.S.A. of Turkey as the 'dominant' power in the Aegean). It is thus evident that for Greece N.A.T.O. membership means a loss of National independence".

PA.SO.K.'s position on Greece's joining the E.E.C. also was no different. The E.E.C. was, for PA.SO.K., the obverse of N.A.T.O. One of the slogans much in evidence at PA.SO.K.'s meetings in this period (before Greece joined the E.E.C. and before PA.SO.K. formed the government) was "the E.E.C. and N.A.T.O., the same syndicate". Thus, for PA.SO.K. National Independence in terms of political and military disengagement was specified and crystallised in three slogans: "Out of N.A.T.O.", "Out of the E.E.C.", "Get rid of the Bases."

PA.SO.K.'s positions were different from the other Parties as to the Cyprus issue, a national issue, which was in the forefront of interest in this period. While the other parties spoke for Greece's "Standing simply by its side", PA.SO.K. in its discourse spoke about Greece's "Fighting alongside Cyprus". Besides, while New Democracy's government had adopted the policy of negotiations with Turkey for the solution of the Cyprus issue and for dealing with Turkish claims in the Aegean Sea, and the other Parties were in agreement (they had different opinions only concerning manipulation of these matters), PA.SO.K., on the contrary, argued for stopping the negotiations until the occupying troops were withdrawn from Cyprus. It argued that the Cyprus issue was an international problem of foreign invasion of a sovereign state, a member of the United Nations and as such should

be dealt with by the International Community.

We should note here that the Communist Party positions on the issue of the politico-military disengagement were almost identical to those of P.A.S.O.K. The Communist Party appeared dynamically opposed to Greece's joining N.A.T.O. and to New Democracy's government persuasion of Greece's completely joining the E.E.C. The Communist Party was willing to argue in favour of an "independent", self-defined foreign policy of "National liberation", of active neutrality and "of friendship with all the peoples in the world"¹⁰. However, the Communist Party (Essoteriko, that is, internal), while asking for "the country's total withdrawal from the North Atlantic Alliance" and for "safeguarding and integrating national independence"¹¹, argued in favour of Greece's joining the E.E.C. on the condition that the national interest would be secured. Simultaneously, it put emphasis on the need for "a multidimensional Balkan co-operation in all sectors".

The Union of the Democratic Centre, E.D.H.K., (which from 1974 to 1977 was the bigger opposition Party, while after 1977 it gave way to the third position losing the greater part of its electoral force) argued for Greece's maintenance only within the political side of N.A.T.O. "we will remain on the N.A.T.O. political side to fight from this position for changing its policy" and the adoption on its part of behaviour, which safeguarded the country's national security.¹²

At the same time, it considered that "returning to the military structure of the Atlantic Alliance is unthinkable since the presence of Turkey in Cyprus continues with its high-handedness"¹³. It also argued for Greece's joining the E.E.C., placing emphasis on the profits which would result for the country.

The critique of New Democracy's government was restricted to the level of how this was dealt with. It is necessary that this should be approached on a political level and this can be successful only when there is in the country a government competent to apply a dynamic foreign policy.¹⁴

These were, briefly, the opposition parties' positions as to the foreign policy issue (National Independence) as they were formulated during the period we have examined as responses to events which dominated within the then conjuncture (relations to N.A.T.O., relations to the E.E.C., relations to the U.S.A. and the Cyprus issue). On the other hand, New Democracy was projecting the experience and prestige of its leader, Mr. Karamanlis; he appeared to be the unique guarantor for successfully dealing with national issues, for security of normal parliamentary life, for the stabilization of democratic values, for the modernization of Institutions and the protection of the Greek people from the dangers which threatened it.¹⁵ Mr. Karamanlis' assertion is characteristic: "Either we will proceed (together) towards a difficult but saving, forward progression or we will

collapse through retrogression"¹⁶. Also Theodorakis' phrase in 1974 is characteristic: "Karamanlis or tanks". New Democracy maintained and cultivated Karamanlis' image as a guarantor of normality, stability and security. The country's withdrawal from the military side of N.A.T.O., because of the attitude maintained by the alliance during Turkey's invasion of Cyprus, was projected as a dynamic and dignified foreign policy. During this period, the discussions for the re-negotiation of the conditions of the agreement, which allowed the maintenance of the American Bases on Greek soil started and the negotiations for the country's complete entry into the E.E.C. were intensified. The latter constituted the centre of New Democracy's foreign policy. Mr. Karamanlis put specific emphasis on Greece's joining the E.E.C. and projected it not only as basic presupposition for Greece's modernization, development and prosperity but also as a factor for safeguarding and assuring National security. The elections which would ordinarily have been held in 1978 were proclaimed a year earlier with the explanation that the country was faced with "national matters". Greece's imminent joining of the E.E.C. appeared to be one of these questions. Consequently, we could say that New Democracy's foreign policy was expressed by the dogma "we belong to the West" that Mr. Karamanlis stated, while P.A.S.O.K.'s president answer was "Greece belongs to Greeks".

However, for a better understanding of this

antagonistic relation between PA.SO.K.'s and New Democracy's discourses as well as the super-national positions adopted by PA.SO.K. as to the element of **NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE**, we should refer to some previous events, which still remained vivid in the Greek conjuncture.

In Greece during the civil war and throughout the post-war period, the key element in the Right wing's discourse was Nationalism; this element helped it to remain almost permanently in power. By arguing that "the bandit war" (as it called the civil war) had been incited from abroad (From Moscow), the Right Wing made out the Leftists (the "bandits") to be tools of Moscow, who had betrayed their own country and were serving foreign interests. Consequently, they had lost all patriotic feeling. Thus patriotism was a privilege reserved for the Right and its followers. This skillful handling of the "Nationalist" element by the Right won over even the lower middle classes and the agricultural class in particular by convincing them that political equality implied a lack of patriotism and enslavement by Moscow.

"By making himself out to be a superpatriot, Papandreou was able to talk about social justice and Socialism, even Marxism, without automatically being called a communist - a word which still had not lost its stigma thirty whole years after the Civil war."¹⁷

Nevertheless, although Mouzelis makes an extremely valid point here we do not believe that it fully explains Papandreou's "extreme nationalist stance". We are of the opinion that Laclau-Mouffe's views on the generation of

hegemony provide us with a key to a fuller understanding of the Hellenocentric positions adopted by PA.SO.K on the issue of National Independence during its pre-government period:

"In order to do so (for the proletariat to become the national class) it must cause the disintegration of the historical bases of the Bourgeoisie's hegemony by disarticulating the ideological 'bloc' by means of which the bourgeoisie's intellectual direction is expressed. It is only on this condition that the working class will be able to rearticulate a new ideological system to cement together the ideological 'bloc' within which it will act as a leading force. It is this process of disarticulation-rearticulation that really generates the famous 'war of position'"¹⁷

That is, it is a question here of a process of disarticulation of the "national" element from New Democracy's discourse, central to it for a long period of time, and its articulation to PA.SO.K's discourse as its central element. This new articulation in PA.SO.K.'s discourse entails a significant modification of its identity, the construction of which we will examine.

From what we have said above as to the Greek conjuncture and the Parties' positions concerning the National Independence issue during the period we are examining, the articulation of the NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE element to PA.SO.K.'s discourse results in intailing the following couplets of opposition (We refer here only to its politico-military aspect; we will speak later about the other aspects):

-Greece belongs to Greeks =/= We belong to the West

-Total withdrawal from N.A.T.O.=/=Partial maintainance
within N.A.T.O

- Out of the E.E.C. != Joining the E.E.C.
- Withdrawal of the U.S.Bases != Renegotiations of the conditions of their maintenance
- Fighting alongside Cyprus != Standing simply by it (supporting Cyprus at a distance, passively)
- Hellenocentric,multi-dimensional policy != West-oriented or East-oriented policy.

From these oppositions the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE in New Democracy's discourse seemed to "depend" on consolidating and reinforcing the country's connections with the Western World (the E.E.C., the U.S.A., N.A.T.O.). This could be easily considered as a continuation of the old idea that it was necessary for small Greece to base itself on some strong protectors. It is worth noting here that in the beginning of the 19th century, when Greece became an Independent state, the first Parties which appeared had the names "English", "French" and "Russian".

In contrast, National Independence in P.A.S.O.K.'s discourse was acquiring a meaning of the country's total disengagement from every form or relation of dependence. It overthrew the old opinion about Protecting Forces and raised Greece to a position of power, considering it able to safeguard its security alone and to proceed self-reliantly towards its development and prosperity. Of course, this does not involve at all the isolation of Greece; for this reason, P.A.S.O.K. declared:

Greece "as a country being at the same time situated within Europe, the Balkans and the

Mediterranean makes its presence perceptible in these three places... the tightening of economic and cultural relations with the peoples all over Europe (Eastern and Western) and the Mediterranean, the creation of filial relations among all the nations and the structure of all the countries into a Universally-Human and Pan-Liberal Community with equal treatment and equal rights of all human beings constitute its permanent aims" (Declaration appendix I).

Perhaps, many reasonable reservations about the possibility of Greece realising a totally independent and self-reliant course may be raised. However, the projection of such a vision indisputably satisfied the common feeling, especially after the recent experiences of the role of the U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. as to the imposition of the military dictatorship and the Cyprus tragedy.

This new identity which the "national" element acquired through its articulation to PA.SO.K.'s discourse allowed PA.SO.K. to trace new limits of differentiation from its main opponents in the field of antagonism, showing New Democracy to be attached to the Western bloc and the Communist Party to the Eastern block. Thus, it made a decisive step towards the process of making its discourse hegemonic.

However, PA.SO.K declares explicitly that the process of Socialist transformation with democratic procedures as well as the processes of implementation of National Independence, in a historical framework, find themselves in a dynamic coexisting with the implementation of Popular Dominance. In this dynamic process National Independence constitutes the "main side", because throwing

off dependence widens the possibilities of self-reliant social and economic development. Popular Dominance constitutes "the corner-stone" of National self-reliance and, being a strategic target in a socialist and independent society, ensures that decisions are taken by the People, implemented by the People and controlled by the People. To the extent to which this target is achieved the possibilities of terminating dependence and of Socialist Transformation of society are reinforced.

New Democracy saw Popular Dominance only from the standpoint of safeguarding the normal function of representative Democracy. We could say that it saw only its political dimension. Popular Dominance is restricted to the "free and unadulterated expression of the popular will" (Constitution 1975, article 52) in defined fixed intervals for the election of Members of Parliament and the Local Government authorities. In the intermediate period the People is condemned to passivity, since it has transmitted all its "power" to its representatives.

PA.SO.K. saw Popular Dominance in its social and economic dimension as well. It adopted the watchword "PA.SO.K. in government, PEOPLE in power".¹⁸ "Socialism makes no sense without the strong everyday presence of the People without finally the exercise of power by the People itself"¹⁹.

PA.SO.K. made clear that Popular Dominance is unbreakably connected with the parliamentary regime and the multi-party system; with polyphony and free

expression.

"The contradictions within the classes and strata are not abolished with Legal Acts, are not stifled with prohibitions and exclusions... The peaceful throwing off of the fetters which the ruling class has firmly constructed for the strata and classes of non-privileged Greeks, does not mean that some other fetters should be firmly constructed 'in the name' of another class or stratum"¹⁹.

Here we have an explicit statement against the dictatorship of proletariat and an evident differentiation from the K.K.E. (Communist Party).

PA.SO.K. also argued that the pedestals of Democracy were three: Parliament, Local Self-government and Trade Unionism. Thus, it is necessary for these three Institutions to be strengthened and upgraded. For this reason PA.SO.K. put the following as its targets:

"The establishment of simple proportional representation... the right to vote from the age of eighteen.... the abolition of the cross indicating preference in MP's elections and adequate subsidy of political parties"²⁰. "The creation of Second and Third grade self government at the level of sub-prefecture and district"²¹ and the security of its economic self-reliance. "Trade-unionism is liberated from dependence on economic oligarchy and from the guardianship of the state, is guarded as a free and autonomous movement and is placed under the service of working people's interests". (Declaration-appendix I).

However, beyond these changes, which we could say refer to the political dimension of Popular Dominance, PA.SO.K announced changes which gave this element a new social and economic dimension. It promised the establishment of forms of direct Democracy, Popular Participation, Social Control and "Workers' control" which would upgrade the role of the People in handling Power in the productive domain.

Thus, the differentiation which comes upon the element of POPULAR DOMIMANCE through its articulation to PA.SO.K's discourse becomes clear in relation to the discourse of New Democracy as much as with that of the Communist Party. The main couplets of opposition, which were created in relation to the New Democracy's discourse are:

-Upgrading of Parliament \neq Reinforcement of the
Executive Power

-Power from the People, for the People, WITH THE
PEOPLE \neq Power from the People, for the People, IN
THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE

-Forms of representative and direct Democracy+Forms of
Social Control+Forms of Workers Control \neq Forms of
representative Democracy only

-Upgraded organization of Local - Selfgovernment
(O.T.A.) with administrative and economic self
reliance \neq O.T.A. with only administartive self
reliance, but economic dependence

-Trade-unionism politicised, free and autonomous \neq
 \neq Trade-unionism dependent and controlled.

The main couplets of opposition which were created in relation to the Communist Party discourse are:

-Multi-Party Parliament \neq One-Party Statism
(Dictatorship of Proletariat)

-Forms of representative and direct Democracy \neq
 \neq Bureaucracy of the vanguard Party

-Trade-unionism politicised, free and autonomous \neq

=/= Class Trade-unionism guided by the Party.

We can now understand the identity which the element of Popular Dominance acquired and consequently that of Democracy in the discourses of antagonistic Parties.

Thus:

- In New Democracy's discourse Popular Dominance connoted the exercise of power, which springs from the People and is there for the People. IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE, with forms of representative Democracy, with reinforcement of executive power, with the maintenance of existing administrative self-reliance and economic dependence of the O.T.A. and of the existing form of controlled Trade-unionism.
- In the Communist Party's discourse it seems to mean exercise of power, which springs and exists from the People and for the People, from the VANGUARD PARTY of the working class, with a strong One-Party State, with an administratively and economically reinforced O.T.A. and with class and Party-guided Trade-unionism.
- Finally, in PA.SO.K.'s discourse Popular Dominance connoted exercise of power, which springs from the People and is there for the People, WITH THE PEOPLE, with forms of representative and direct democracy, social control and workers' control with reinforced and upgraded Parliament, with upgraded O.T.A. administratively and economically self-

reliant and with a Trade-Union movement politicised, free and autonomous.

Another central element in PA.SO.K.'s discourse is that of **SOCIAL LIBERATION**. This element is defined by PA.SO.K. as "total social, economic and cultural integration of the human being"²². Also in the Declaration (see appendix I), an extensive reference was made to the meaning that PA.SO.K. gave to this element, which "in the long term is identified with the socialist transformation of society". Through this extensive reference it became clear that PA.SO.K. gave specific emphasis and multi-dimensional meaning to Social Liberation.

During the examination of **SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION** we have already dwelt more on its socio-political dimension and mainly on the democratic procedures of transition. We will subsequently study the economic dimension in detail, when we will examine Economy as a separate element of PA.SO.K.'s discourse. Here we will put light on the socio-cultural dimension of Social liberation, which was presented by PA.SO.K. as the erasing of alienation and social inequalities; as continuous improvement of the quality of life, environment and as cultural development based on national values and tradition, while we will refer to Education in a separate part of our study.

We should also note that, while the previously examined elements **CHANGE**, **NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE**, **POPULAR**

DOMINANCE-DEMOCRATIZATION) constituted elements of the discourses of other Parties, SOCIAL LIBERATION was projected only in PA.SO.K.'s discourse and to some extent in the discourse of the Traditional Left.

New Democracy spoke of the social state, of social welfare, for lessening social inequalities and for improving the conditions of life:

"it was impossible for a healthy economic policy to be pursued through the free economy, without being ambitious for social justice and welfare of the Greek population at the same time"²³.

However, it spoke not at all of social liberation in the form and dimension with which PA.SO.K. projected it. On the other hand, while in the beginning the social policy followed by the N.D. Government seemed to move in the positive direction of social welfare, the last years of its governmental period resulted in a specific sharpening of certain social problems (inequalities, unemployment, housing, health, culture, environment). Such concepts as "exploitation", "alienation", "quality of life", "popular values" were totally absent from the N.D.'s discourse. By contrast these concepts were in the discourse of the Traditional Left in addition to that of PA.SO.K., but, in the period we are examining, they had neither the projection nor the tension that these concepts held in PA.SO.K.'s discourse. It is not by chance that PA.SO.K. was characterised as "the Left's Left", in this period.

Thus, we could say that the presence of the element of SOCIAL LIBERATION in PA.SO.K.'s discourse created the following couplets of oppositions mainly in relation to

the discourse of New Democracy:

- Social Liberation \neq Social Welfare
- Abolition of exploitation and alienation \neq Silence
and Indifference
- Abolition of social inequalities \neq Spasmodic
maintenance of social inequalities
- Improvement of the quality of life \neq Strengthening
of Consumerism
- Respect for and protection of the environment \neq
 \neq Neglect of the environment
- Creation of cultural life and development based on
the National Popular civilization \neq Cultural
development mainly based on the imitation of the
foreign models.

From these oppositions and the correspondent chains of equivalences which they entail it resulted that within N.D.'s discourse the element of Social Welfare-which existed instead of the element of Social Liberation-had acquired the following meaning. Silence and indifference about exploitation and alienation; an attempt to lessen social inequalities and improvement of the conditions of life (ineffectively), neglect of the environment and an attempt at cultural development based mainly on foreign models.

In P.A.S.O.K.'s discourse, the element of SOCIAL LIBERATION connoted: Effacement of exploitation, of alienation and of social inequalities between the city and country as much as between the social strata; improvement

of the quality of life (with specific care of employment, Health, housing, mother, child, youth, the elderly); respect for and protection of the environment and the creation of cultural life and development based on the national-popular civilization.

Finally, in the Communist Party's discourse even though almost the same concepts as those of PA.SO.K. were used, the element of Social Liberation appeared weakened, without having the vitality, freshness and attractiveness, which PA.SO.K.'s discourse presented. This happened not only because there was a depression as to the projection of its central element, but, and mainly, because of its articulation to the other elements of the Communist Party discourse (one-party system, statism, absence of democratic procedures etc.).

In PA.SO.K.'s view, Social Liberation, which in the long term is identified with the Socialist Transformation will be successful through the bulk of "non-privileged Greek people". Thus, we come now to examine another central element in PA.SO.K.'s discourse: Its **SOCIAL SYNTHESIS**.

PA.SO.K. did not appear as the Party-vanguard of a concrete class, but as a movement-expression of a new historical bloc of working people, of "non-privileged people". Since its appearance it did not define the limits of its social synthesis in terms of a close class-origin, but in terms of a wider framework of cooperative

and political convergence. The identity of this new historical bloc was not defined in terms of social origin or of pure economic criteria. Nor even did this bloc or its parts appear preconstituted and ready to receive expression through PA.SO.K. On the contrary, a recognition of social fragmentation is evident, since it addresses a wide variety of "subject positions" (peasant, worker, craftsman, worker paid by the state, clerk, youth, see appendix I), which, however, were overdetermined in terms of political origin-their participation in common "progressive and democratic" struggles. (see appendix I). PA.SO.K. made an appeal to "working People" to proceed united "with the struggle for an independent, socialist and democratic Greece", proclaiming that these targets would be realised through "a permanent popular watchfulness, control and mobilization" (appendix I). PA.SO.K. argued²⁴, without objections being expressed by its opponents, that three currents were united, marking it out as the agent of the popular movement.

- The "popular current of National and E.A.M.'s (National-Liberation Front) resistance". That is the participation in the country's defence during the Italian and German invasion (1940-41) and in National Resistance during the period of foreign occupation. The main expression of this resistance was E.A.M. and "Liberty, Popular dominance and Socialism" were its main claims.

- "The popular current which carried out the two

'unyielding struggles' those of the Centre Union and of the United Democratic Left"; that is the participation in the political struggles at the beginning of the sixties, which brought to the forefront a "strong, radicalized mass movement"²⁵, seeking a democratization of institutions and respect for Popular Dominance.

- The "popular current of the seven-year Resistance against the military and fascist dictatorship" .

This current was also expressed by the resistance organizations: Panhellenic Liberation Movement (P.A.K.), the founder of which was A. Papandreou, and Democratic Defence which consisted mainly of members of the Centre-Union youth, which withdrew from E.D.A. (United Democratic Left). These two resistance organizations participated in P.A.S.O.K.'s foundation. The Greek Polytechnic (November 1973), where the demands were condensed in the triptych: "Bread, Education Freedom" was the culmination of this popular current. Later, in (1977) P.A.S.O.K. would name this new "historical bloc" National Popular Unity (E.L.E.) and would define it as "expression of social and political radicalism". Social radicalism, according to P.A.S.O.K.²⁶, was the phenomenon which came from the dependent and distorted development of Greek society, which restricted the possibilities of anybody remaining permanently in a job, swelled the tertiary sector and increased non productive activities. The continuous mobility of social forces created conditions of

exploitation and insecurity. From within these procedures a movement grew up, which questioned, demanded and struggled for better conditions of life. In times of political crises -and this was the case in Greece in the sixties and seventies- social radicalism is politically enriched and is transformed into a phenomenon of social and political radicalism.

The transformation of the diffuse social possibility of radicalism into an organised social and political force, into "a new" Patriotic Front of all the people depends on conjunctural, historical constructions. In the case of E.L.E., PA.SO.K. argued that the construction of its identity related to:

- the struggle for the conquest of national independence and safeguarding of the country's territorial integrity.
- the struggle for the democratization of the state mechanism and public life.
- the struggle against foreign and domestic monopoly capital.
- the struggle for safeguarding democratic achievements, the security of national popular values and the development of popular culture²⁶.

In other words, we can see that the unification of ELE was attempted through and within PA.SO.K.s visions. PA.SO.K. "does not recognise any vanguard and hegemony of one class over the others"²⁷. E.L.E., was "a social alliance equal in rights of all the social forces which

have class interest in independence and Socialism without exclusions and distinctions"²⁸. PA.SO.K. argued that:

"peasants, workers, salaried people, professionals, craftsmen, the lower and middle strata, scientists, intellectuals, artists as well as youth and women, who were subject to exploitation by foreign and home economic oligarchy participated in equal rights in the formulation of National Popular Unity (E.L.E.)."²⁹

However, the political organization should conquer its "political autonomy" by the social forces which it expresses in order to be able to trace integrated strategy of Power. It should be elevated above their narrower syndicalist interests; to make a "synthesis" and "transformation" of their different but converging conceptions.

It becomes clear that PA.SO.K. tended to overcome the view that "class interests" are given to politics by economy and that politics simply recognize these interests as such and after represent them. That is, a clear differentiation from the positions and conceptions of the Communist Party may be remarked; this Party considered itself as the vanguard of the working class and able to express its "objective" interests. Besides, while the identity of the "working class" is defined -in the communist Party's analyses- by its place in the mode of production and especially in the relations of production and thus is consequently in a way closed, the identity of E.L.E. is conceived as a result of a discursive articulation and thus relational, constitutive and non-fixed. PA.SO.K. itself speaks of "a continuous

construction of E.L.E."³⁰. Besides, we should note that E.L.E. did not simply establish an "alliance" of given interests, but it transformed these interests, modifying simultaneously the identity of the forces themselves involved in this alliance. And furthermore, this "transformation" of the interests and the "modification" of the identity of its social forces did not become "once and for all", but it continued and continues in the next periods as we shall see. In the Declaration, E.L.E. is opposed "to the economic oligarchy", "to the foreign monopoly and home comprador capital". Also in the decisions of the First congress, we read:

"The political and social establishment of the dominant class, the oligarchy of wealth, the pedlars and spivs of the parasitic economy the "Philhellenes" (people who pretend they love Greeks) and the political intermediators of the state mechanism constructed by the Right, do not belong to it."³¹

We could say that with the positive boundary-line of E.L.E. PA.SO.K. attempted to oppose the Communist Party, while with its negative boundary-line it opposed New Democracy's social synthesis. Of course, New Democracy neither accepted nor furthermore did it ever accept that it represented the dominant class, the economic oligarchy etc... On the contrary, it also made an appeal to all the Greeks and especially "to the healthy thinking Greeks " who desire "order and security", "Freedom and Democracy", "modernization and welfare" of the Greek homeland. Especially, in the period which we are examining New Democracy did not present a constructed discourse, a

concrete programme certainly, not of course any analysis of its social synthesis. It was mainly based on the presence of its leader, Mr. Karamanlis, and on its projection of him as the only competent leader-because of his experience, influence and knowledge -who was able successfully to deal with the problems of the country. He himself would decide the HOW. No one spoke about with WHOM. However, the different manner in which the two leaders addressed the people in their preelection speeches, was characteristic. Mr.Karamanlis began his speeches with the address: "Greek Ladies, Greek Gentlemen". While Mr. Papandreou commenced with the address:" People of Greece". This is the differentiation which connotes the audience which it addressed and revealed the different point of view from which they saw the social synthesis of their audience.

The term "Greek Ladies, Greek gentlemen" is an almost neutral term which does not include any social, economic, or class connotation and addresses the individual citizen. And,of course,this meaning is reinforced by the generally neutralized discourse of New Democracy from which the social, economic and class references were absent. It recognises only the national consciousness to which it is addressed. The first expression makes use and in a way appears to aim at the perpetuation of fluidity or the absence of class consciousness. In contrast, the term "People of Greece" includes social, economic and to a certain extent a class

connotation. It is a term which shows that the user believes (and/or aims) at the political consciousness of his audience. This meaning of the "People" charged with economic, social and class connotation acquired its complete signification through its articulation to the whole of PA.SO.K.'s discourse where its continuous use and analysis was made, being opposed to the economic oligarchy.

However, in parenthesis, it is worth noting the views of some third persons with reference to PA.SO.K.'s social synthesis. We remark in advance that while objections as to the political origin of the forces which constitute the National, Popular Unity (E.L.E.) have not been expressed, different views have been formulated in relation to the social origin of these forces.

Thus, N. Mouzelis has argued that "PA.SO.K. managed to win the support of all those who, eventhough they were influenced by the development of Industrial Capitalism, are outside the main capitalist mode of production."²² That is Mouzelis excludes the working class from PA.SO.K.'s social synthesis, to be faithful to the explanatory instrument of the mode of production.

Distancing himself from Mouzelis, Poulantzas²³ has adopted the idea that PA.SO.K. "realises in itself an unusual coexistence of parts of the working class, peasantry and radicalized petty-bourgeois strata". But the presence "of parts of the working class" within PA.SO.K. contravenes specific points of his theoretical

assumptions and for this reason, instead of refusing their presence as Mouzelis does, he prefers to characterise PA.SO.K.'s social synthesis as "unusual".

While A. Adrianopoulos, the then minister of New Democracy, arguing that PA.SO.K. is a purely populist movement, accepts that it incorporates "changeable groups", "fractions of bourgeoisie and peasantry", "middle class and workers" who "share a number of common interests".³⁴ Here, also the use of the term "changeable groups" shows the weakness of interpretation and understanding of the way by which PA.SO.K.'s E.L.E. is constructed.

PA.SO.K.'s social synthesis is neither "unusual" not "changeable"; it is explained and becomes intelligible if we accept the social logic according to which the social synthesis are not constructed around any pregiven centre (e.g. relations of production, hierarchic relations etc.) but they are conceived as the result of articulatory practices.³⁵ According to this logic, E.L.E. is a conjunctural historical construction and confirms the constitutive character of the social identities, revealing at the same time the significance and the role of articulatory practices.

We consider it necessary to see also another view of the problematization developed around PA.SO.K.'s social synthesis. A.Andrianopoulos, who saw PA.SO.K. as a populist movement, foresaw the destruction of the bloc of forces, which support it "necessarily" "as soon as the theoretical declarations start to be realised", because

"by putting every populist party in power, it is stripped of its character as supposedly friendly to the people"³⁶

Likewise, Elefantis A. and Cavouriaris M. argued that:

"A populist movement can be active-can concentrate the masses- only if it is in opposition ... when it needs to propose or realise measures... the way is open for its contradictions to burst out".³⁷

However, as is now known, the above predictions were not confirmed. PA.SO.K. managed not only to continue to be in charge of the Country's government over eight years, but also left behind, without essential loss, the possible inconsistencies and contradictions noted in its parts and despite the outbreak of scandals and the successive electoral defeats, maintained the support of 40% of the electoral body, losing only eight percentage points after the zenith of its electoral power of 1981.

Consequently, a question is raised: why have the convergent predictions of those who characterised PA.SO.K. as a social reformist Party ³⁸, as much as those who characterised it as populist, not been confirmed?

The answer could be that the old ontological and essentialist conception of the social identities -unable to explain and understand PA.SO.K.'s social synthesis- has as a consequence led to non-confirmed predictions. The conception of PA.SO.K's social synthesis as "unusual", "changeable" and "contradictory" leads to predictions of clashes and deconstruction. However if we adopt the logic of the constitutive and thus relational character of social identities, if we accept in Laclau's words that

"the class forces are constituted in and through discourses and they are neither the result of extra-discursive systems nor their subjective supports" and also that "each contradiction is not a class contradiction"³⁹, then we can understand this new historical bloc better. Then we can predict more correctly that, since PA.SO.K.'s E.L.E. is conceived as a conjunctural historic construction, its changes are not determined by extra-discursive conditions, but depend on the intersecting articulatory practices in the field of antagonism; that is, on PA.SO.K.'s practices and practices opposed to them of the other political Parties and movements.

We close this extended, but we believe useful parenthesis and we come to see the couplets of oppositions which the element of SOCIAL SYNTHESIS presented above created through its articulation to PA.SO.K.'s discourse.

- New, multifarious historical bloc of the "non-privileged people", E.L.E. \neq One class representation
- Equivalent social alliance \neq Popular front alliance under the hegemony of the working class
- Conjunctural historic construction \neq Structural consequence of the mode or relations of production
- Democratic and progressive forces \neq Authoritarian and conservative establishment
- People (peasant, workers, professionals, craftsmen, salaried people, lower and middle social strata, scientists, the learned, artists, youth, women) \neq

=/= Dominant class (economic oligarchy, comprador,
"spivs" of the parasitic economy, political
mediators of the state mechanism)

- Citizen with consciousness of their social, economic
and class position /= individual private people
without political consciousness.

The three first couplets of opposition and the
correspondent chains of equivalences they entail give the
meaning to the element of social synthesis in PA.SO.K.'s
discourse in relation to the Communist Party, while the
other three in relation to New Democracy.

Thus, in the Communist Party's discourse, the element
of social synthesis appears to take the meaning of
representation of the working class, destined by the
relations of production to formulate under its hegemony a
popular front alliance, on the base of common economic and
social interests.

In New Democracy's discourse this element acquires
implicitly the meaning of representation of individual
private people without social, economic or class
specifications, who are united under the common national
interest, while, because of the oppositions created by
PA.SO.K.'s discourse, it is implemented with the meaning
of representation of the dominant class, of economic
oligarchy and of the authoritarian and conservative
establishment.

In PA.SO.K.'s discourse, finally, the element of
social synthesis takes the meaning of a multi-selective.

historical bloc of the "non-privileged people" , of an equivalent social alliance of peasants, workers, of craftsmen, salaried people, of lower and middle social strata, of scientists, the learned, artists, youth and women who have acquired or are acquiring consciousness of their social, economic and class position, who are fighting for democracy, progress and socialism and who within and through these struggles construct the E.L.E.

We should note again, as is evident in many points in the above presentation, that the element of social synthesis not only acquired its meaning by the opposition between the discourses but by its articulation to the other elements within each discourse. However, we will return later to this point.

PA.SO.K. pointed out that a united political Organization was needed in order to be able to transform the dynamics of the new historical bloc into a force of political power and to question the existing system. Thus, the element of ORGANIZATION became one of the key elements in PA.SO.K.'s discourse.

ORGANIZATION did not appear in PA.SO.K's discourse in a pre-given form, a ready made structure and function and a predetermined and stable role. The form, structure, function and the role of organization were continuously under negotiation, modification and transformation in connection to the general course of the movement. In the Founding Declaration we read:

"...the organizational form will be decided together during the course with the equivalent participation of all the members of the first congress, which will be convoked soon. This is also within the frame of a safeguarded democratic procedure."

PA.SO.K. differentiated itself as to the element of ORGANIZATION as much from the conceptions and practices of the traditional Left and Social Democracy as from those of the Bourgeois Parties, especially in Greece. (see appendix one).

The critique which is exercised and the opposition created in relation to the form and function of the bourgeois parties in Greece is evident; a purely personalized form, that of the leader and a function based on a stable network of clientelist relations. There is an obvious contrast with the traditional Left-wing Parties from which "the democratic expression of base" is absent. The opposition would be stated briefly and directly later in the propositions formulated by the Central Committee for the Congress. PA.SO.K. refused the conception of the Party as:

"vanguard of the working class towering over society and constituting the 'area' of absolute knowledge, of ideological purity and the correctness of political choices" and thus causing "the Party to be identified with the state and the state to become irrevocably divorced from society, which eventually degenerates into an area of passive submission and alienation"⁴⁰. As well as "it refuses the bourgeois conception of the electoral clientele party"⁴¹.

According to PA.SO.K. "the party does not stand outside and above the state and society, nor is it identified with either of them, but it retains its politico-ideological independence and of its Organization's autonomy" and it is related to the People "in a process of a continuous feed-back, enrichment and two-way influence and not in a

relation of hegemony and imposition."⁴⁰

PA.SO.K. recognised the same process of two-way influence as to its relationship to the other mass movements as well (Trade unionism, women, youth, ecological, peace movement etc.). It recognises their specificity and their autonomous character and it aimed at having a continuous, open, democratic dialogue with them. It considered that this dialogue constitutes the force but also the dynamic of the Movement. From within it what was being pursued were on the one hand, its political propositions and strategic visions to penetrate and be articulated through other social movements and on the other hand, their own partial demands to be articulated to its own political programme. Thus in this point also PA.SO.K.'s distance from the dogmatic conception of marxism concerning the class nature of all the social contradictions and the acceptance of multiplicity and the polycentrism of contemporary society is evident.

In contrast, the Communist Party, recognising itself as the "vanguard of the working class" and accepting the class nature of all social contradictions, attributed to itself the role not only of enlightening and guiding but also that of organizing the people into mass agents. Furthermore, it blamed PA.SO.K. that it restricted its role to the use of existing movements and did not care for the creation of new organizations.⁴² Thus the Communist Party appeared to pursue the absolute dependence of the mass movement on the Party, subjecting the mass movement to

being a passive recipient and instrument of conveyance of the Party's conception and direction.

On the other hand, New Democracy appeared to argue for the independence but also the neutrality of the mass agents; for the need to avoid party contradictions, projecting and struggling for their specific demands. However, at the same time, it maintained coordinated networks of clientelist relations from within which it safeguarded the control of the adaptations and limited the transformations that occurred.

The organizational structure, the function and the role of PA.SO.K.'s organization followed a process of a formulation, which was neither linear nor one dimensional; the strategic targets, the development of E.L.E., the tactics and practices adopted influenced the development of the Organization and it in its turn influenced the strategies and tactical preferences, the development of E.L.E. and the practices of the Movement. PA.SO.K. itself distinguished two sub-periods as to its organizational development: the first period, from its founding (1974) to the Panhellenic Conference in 1977 and the second period, from 1977 to its rise to Government in 1981.

On PA.SO.K.'s birth in 1974 its organizational policy made its first choice, opting for self-organization. Self-organization was a revolutionary innovatory initiative, which in the organizational field immediately differentiated PA.SO.K. from the bourgeois Parties and those of the traditional Left. Without

bureaucratic formulations and presuppositions, self-organization gave all who accepted the Declaration of the September 3rd the chance to fight in an organised way for pursuit of the objectives set out.

"Hundreds of active officials and ordinary people responded to the Movement's call for self-organization. They signed statements of support and started to construct groups of local organizations in all corners of the country... This phenomenon did not have any precedent in the history of the party systems of the country".⁴³

It is worth noting here that from the text of "the statements of support" it results that the first members agreed on three points:

"They gave great emphasis on the Papandreou's role.. explicit priority to the parts of Declaration with national content... and third (they expressed) the belief that the Movement was authentic, new and did not have any connection with the old-fashioned Parties of the Past"⁴⁴.

This is a significant confirmation of the position which the personality of the President, the National element and the element of Organization had in P.A.S.O.K.'s discourse.

However, by its very nature the self-organization option carried within it "considerable risk of political degeneration and the adulteration of P.A.S.O.K.'s physiognomy"⁴⁵. Thus, the first period was characterised by a contradiction between P.A.S.O.K.'s socio-political dynamism (positive points of self-organization) and its vulnerable directional and organizational cohesion (negative points of self-organization). At this critical juncture the decisive role within the party played by A. Papandreou was much in evidence.

"The contradiction was transformed and resolved by A. Papandreou acting as the political, ideological

and organizational reference and cohesion pole for the whole PA.SO.K. movement"⁴⁶.

The elections for M.P.'s seventy-five days after the Movements foundation shifted the interest and the efforts from organizational development to the pre-election campaign. Simultaneously, A. Papandreou's direct communication with the people, his charismatic personality, his speeches and even his appearance (the only candidate with a Dr. Zhivago style pullover) which gave the impression of a radical leader, consolidated and reinforced his role within the Movement;

"they marked him out as the most valuable capital and established him as the highest judge of the organizational development" ⁴⁷.

The solution of the organizational problems encountered from day-to-day (structure, function, deployment of high grade party-members, organizational and directional intervention, action, grading of duties, keeping the people informed) as well as plotting the central political course, was mostly performed by the President of PA.SO.K., particularly during this period.

This concentration of jurisdictions and authorities in hands of the President, the absence of democratic procedures in their exercise and the retardations noticed in the Movement's organizational development displeased many officials who were mainly from the resistance organizations of Democratic Defence and the Panhellenic-Liberation-Movement (P.A.K.). They started to criticise it strongly. Also during the intensive debates about the structure and function of the different organs

disagreements were noted. The idea according to which the policy of the movement should be formulated on the basis of some theoretical principles met with resistance. Then the principle of efficacy apart from the pre-existing principle of democratic procedures was adumbrated. In other words, the principle of efficacy of organization set out a criterion for democratic procedures and this, in that period, further reinforced the centralist tendency we have already noted.

In fact during this period the new political agent, with all the positive and negative features noted above, managed to attract 27,000 members.⁴⁸ In spite of the fact that numbers of names were removed from the roll - in largely undemocratic ways - it established itself firmly in the political life of the country and the consciousness of a sizeable section of the people, since in the first electoral contest it took 13.58% of the popular vote and 12 seats and became the third political force, leaving behind the United Left (the two Communist Parties) which concentrated only 9.45% of the popular vote and 8 seats.

We would also point out that this period saw two of the main features of P.A.S.O.K.'s organizational physiognomy take shape: its mass character since it could already count on grass-root organizations (Local Organization T.O.'s) all over Greece and Branch Organizations (K.O.'s) in every Workplace; and its personalization, since A. Papandreou had made his mark as supreme judge and coordinator of the Movement. The correlation between leader

and organization in the first period, was crushingly in favour of the leader. However, this relationship, as we shall see, did not remain stable.

An important landmark in P.A.S.O.K.'s organizational development and one which marks the beginning of the second period was reached with the Panhellenic Conference of 1977, where the basic principles for the organizational structure and function of the Movement were shaped. The new organizational direction put specific emphasis on the principle of "efficacy". The movement would be organized on the basis of "the principle of democratic procedures, which guarantees the characteristics of democracy, efficacy in the structure and functionality in the organization"⁴⁹

According to the proposition of the new statute (Katastatiko) the Movement was shaped at three levels: Local (Local Organization, T.O.'s and Branch Organizations, K.O.'s), Regional (Nomarchiako, Prefectural Committees) and National (Central Committee, Executive Office, President, Congress). In the essay of the Executive Secretariat we read:

"...the decisive factors of the existence and function of P.A.S.O.K. are: a. An integrated ideology b. Its organization. c. day-to-day political action with the people...d. the physiognomy of A. Papandreou who was -through his political struggles and ideologico-political propositions- established as an expression of the desires and hopes of the wide social strata for a radical change"⁵⁰.

Also the official recognition of the leader's decisive role, the institutionalization of his dominance was now evident.

Simultaneously, as the organizational development proceeded, PA.SO.K. also changed its image from a movement of protest to a viable and rational alternative solution. Thus, in the 1977 elections it almost doubled its electoral force (25.33% and 93 seats) and marked itself out as the main opposition Party.

After this triumphant result it was clearly evident that the Movement was proceeding firmly towards governmental power. The schisms and the intra-party clashes which had characterized the previous period stopped, if not existing, at least being evident. However a new organizational dimension made intensely felt its presence, the prominent role and the significance of the Parliamentary Group. Parliamentary action became explicitly the centre of activity, while "...the out-parliamentary action (the action of organization) is the extension of PA.SO.K.'s proposition in Parliament"⁵¹.

Another characteristic of this period is the attraction of a great number of Technocrats to the classes of the Movement.

"Technocrats would consolidate their presence as a third dimension (on a parallel footing with the leftist tendency and that of the old-party members), of the sensitive balance between the different political currents of the Movement."⁵²

Their presence reinforced the impression that PA.SO.K. was competent to form the future government. In parallel, the technocratic dimension of the already strong personality of A.Papandreou was projected. This combination gave PA.SO.K.'s leader an additional advantage in relation to

the other leaders of the political scene.

Now PA.SO.K. was openly declaring that electoral victory was its primary target. This target would be attained through mass organization. Thus, organization had mainly two roles throughout this period: the increase of its members and the preparation of the Party-mechanism for the elections. According to non-official sources,⁵³ PA.SO.K. showed an unprecedented increase of its members, which were estimated at 110.000 in 1981. Besides, the electoral mechanism created by the organization was shown to be particularly effective during the 1981 elections since PA.SO.K. gained 48% of the popular vote and 172 seats and safeguarded the formation of a majority government.

From the above presentation and analysis of the element of organization in PA.SO.K.'s discourse it has become clear that here two kinds of opposition took place: internal and external. The internal oppositions refer to the relations formulated within the organization and had mainly to do with self-organization, the relationship between leader and organization and organization-Parliamentary group. The external oppositions refer to the couplets of oppositions which were created in relation to the discourses of the other Political Parties within the conjuncture.

Self-organization, as we have seen, allowed simple and high-powered members from different political currents to be accommodated within PA.SO.K. This "free" entrance

subsequently created some opposition, which led to clashes, schisms and removal of some members from the roll. The main opposition was between those coming from the resistance organizations (Democratic Defence, Panhellenic Liberation Front - P.A.K.) and from the traditional Left, who constituted the so-called "Leftist tendency", and those who came from the old Party of the Centre-Union and constituted the so-called "Old-Party members".

In the period 1974-77 the relationship between the "Leftist tendency" and the "Old-Party members" inclined in favour of the first. That is, we had the relationship

LEFTIST TENDENCY - Old Party members.

However, in the period 1977-81 -after the schisms and the removal of members from the roll- the relationship tended to be in favour of the latter. That is, the relationship became:

Leftist tendency - OLD PARTY MEMBERS.

At the end of the same period, we had the mass entrance of the technocrats, who quickly gained ground and became equivalent in influence to the Old Party members. Thus, the relationship was shaped: OLD PARTY MEMBERS-TECHNOCRATS- Leftist tendency.

These changes of the relationships - the different positioning of the partial elements in their articulation within the organization - had their implications on the shaping of the meaning of Organization and of P.A.S.O.K.'s physiognomy in general. We will examine these implications

below.

The relationship "Leader-Organization" underwent some fluctuations. In the Founding Declaration no reference was made to A. Papandreou, while giving emphasis to the significance and the role of a democratic organization with the equivalent participation of all the members. Thus, the relationship ORGANIZATION- Leader was projected. In the period 1974-77, and especially after the election, a stable upgrading of the role of the President was remarked, which resulted in his recognition as the main coordinator of the Movement. Thus the relationship became: LEADER-Organization.

Finally, in the period 1977-81, the prominent position of the President, who started to be called Leader, was institutionalized as a separate organ then above the other organs, apart from the Congress. However while by the first statute (Katastatiko) provision was made for the Congress to be convoked every two years, it had not yet been convoked. Thus, the relationship LEADER-Organization remained and it was reinforced. In other words, we had a very quick transformation of the Movement from Party of Principles to a Personalized -of the Leader- Party.

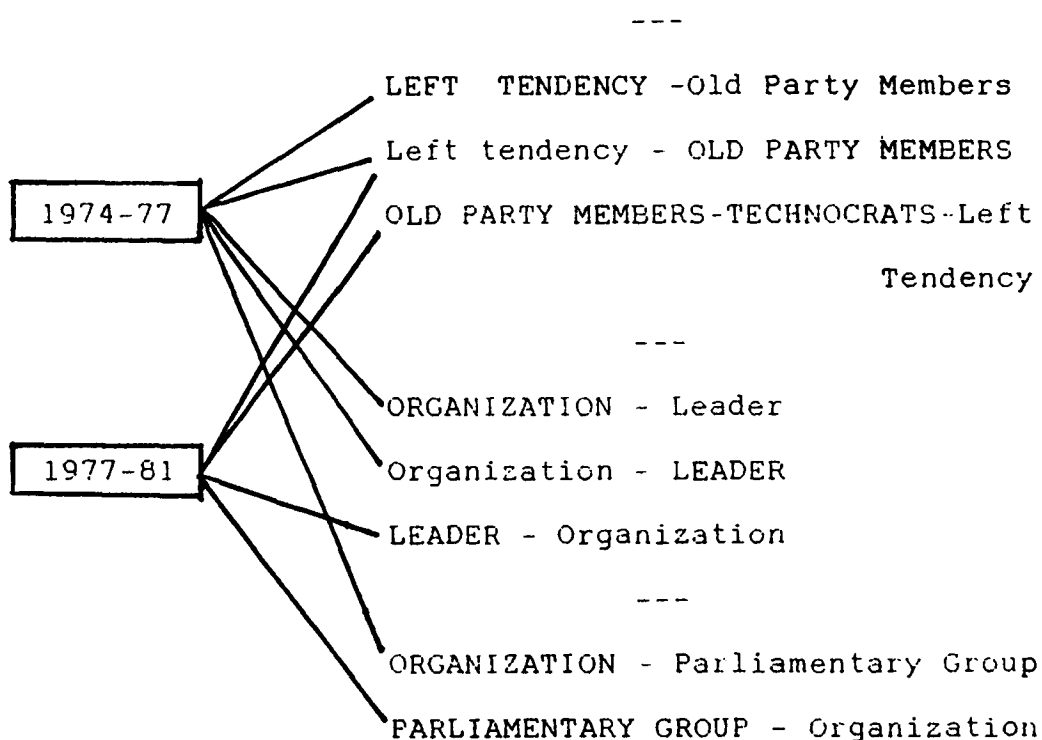
In the period 1974-77, the question of the relationship Organization-Parliamentary group had firstly appeared. However, and because of the small number of the Parliament members (12), and due to the fact that the extra-Parliamentary action remained a priority, this

relationship was shaped in favour of the organization. Thus, we have ORGANIZATION-Parliamentary group. However in the period 1977-81 the weight was shifting to the group acting within Parliament and despite the participation of the organization in increasing the members and the preparation of the victorious electoral battle, the relationship became:

PARLIAMENTARY GROUP - Organization.

Summarizing and making a schema we have the table below, which shows the internal oppositions of the organization and their articulation in the periods of 1974-1977 and of 1977-81

Internal oppositions of the Organization



From this schematic table it is evident that the superiority of the LEFT TENDENCY to the cost of the old-

Party members was articulated through the superiority of ORGANIZATION at the cost of the Leader -which in the same period was modified to a silent recognition of the superiority of the LEADER- and with the superiority of the ORGANIZATION to the cost of the parliamentary Group.

In the period of 1977-81 the superiority of the OLD PARTY MEMBERS - TECHNOCRATS was articulated with the institutionalised superiority of the LEADER and the superiority of the PARLIAMENTARY GROUP.

From the different articulation of the elements within the organization in these two periods, the different meaning of the organization in each period was constructed. Thus, in the period 1974-77, organization acquired the meaning of construction in the form of the Left Parties of principles, which functioned democratically. They did this in two ways with equality of members' rights and control of Leadership, (Leadership, however, soon became autonomous) and where the action of the Parliamentary group was defined by the decision of Organization.

In the period 1977-81 Organization acquired the meaning of construction rather in the form of a personalized-Party (that of the Leader) which was related, however, to the existence of an organizational schema based on principles, where the democratic procedures were restricted in favour of efficacy, where the old Party members' view but also an intensively technocratic one prevailed and where the action of the Parliamentary group

overshadowed that of organization.

Of course, the meaning of the element of organization in PA.SO.K.'s discourse had not been acquired only by these internal oppositions, but also by external ones (as to the other discourses) and even more by its relationship to the other elements of the same discourse. However, for mainly methodological reasons, we follow its construction successively at these three levels.

The articulation of the element of ORGANIZATION to PA.SO.K.'s discourse created in the beginning the following couplets of external oppositions:

- Self-organization \neq Organization from above
- Party of principles \neq Party personalized
 \neq Party vanguard of the working class
- Party self reliant and autonomous \neq Coalescence of
Party and State
 \neq Party above society
- Democratic and two-directional function \neq Network
of clientelist relations
 \neq Centralized and one-way function
- Party in a role of co-fighter beside or together
with the mass movements \neq Dependence of the mass
movements on the Party
 \neq Party mediator between state and mass movements.

However, later -and because of the final formulation of the internal oppositions presented above-, the following couplets withdrew: Party of principles \neq Party personalized (that of the Leader) and Democratic and

two-directional function=/=Centralised and one-directional function. Thus, at the end of the period we are examining (1974-81), the element of ORGANIZATION, because of the oppositions created by its articulation to the discourses of the political Parties and of the chains of equivalences they entailed, seems to take on the following meanings:

- In the Communist Party's discourse, it took on the meaning of the Party vanguard of the working class, which stood above society and, coming to power, merges with the state, which functioned in a centralized way, with a leadership imposing its decisions without any possibility of expression of the base and which intervened hegemonically in the formulation and action of the mass movements.

- In New Democracy's discourse it took a purely personalised meaning - that of a Leader Party - without a concrete organizational schema or restrictive principles, which functioned based on a network of clientelist relations and the role of which was restricted to the pursuit of electoral victory, handling power and control of mass movements through clientelist relations.

- Finally, in P.A.S.O.K.'s discourse, and in relationship to the meaning it acquired through the final formulation of the internal oppositions, the element of ORGANIZATION took on the meaning of a Party-formation which appeared in the first time. The organization combined a strong leading personality and a dynamic mass-organizational schema based on principles which pursued

self reliance and autonomy from the state and society: The organization of PA.SO.K. functioned with democratic procedures restricted by the principle of efficacy, which maintained relations of co-operation and a two-way influence on the other mass movements and the role of which was adapted to the changeable conditions each time of the course of transition towards socialist transformation. It is evident that the meaning which the element of ORGANIZATION acquired in PA.SO.K.'s discourse through its opposition to the discourses of the other political parties had excluded the characteristics of the feudal and clientelist relations of the traditional Bourgeois Parties of the country, which kept the citizens out of political life and bound to personal obligations. It excluded these characteristics as much as it did the dogmatic and anti-democratic characteristics of the traditional Left, which claimed on the part of its members a stable faith in the axioms of theory and a faithful application of the Leadership's decisions.

PA.SO.K. explicitly and repeatedly declared that for the realization of the strategic vision of transition to Socialism through democratic procedures the course would be very long. And this course would be realised through clashes and struggles, through conditions of popular consensus, participation and mobilization.

Such a course needs apart from the development of organization and the mass character of the Movement through the construction and widening of E.L.E.,

appropriate t a c t i c s. Thus, the element of TACTICS became a key element in PA.SO.K.'s discourse.

According to PA.SO.K.: "TACTICS are a concrete option coming from the need and evaluation of given presuppositions and relationships but simultaneously it unites and condenses the strategies specializing and realising them in the field of the concrete situation."⁵⁴

Simultaneously, PA.SO.K. rejected both these phrases adopted by the Communist Party: "HERE AND NOW EVERYTHING, and EVERYTHING or NOTHING"⁵⁵, because these conceptions lead either to disarticulation and fragmentation of the social forces or to immobilization of the popular movement, apathy and expectation "conceiving the meaning of politics as a cerebral practice on paper with standardized extracts from classic texts"⁵⁶ and dichotomising time "into the time of expectation and preparation and into the time of socialist action after the seizure of power by assault"⁵⁷. Thus, PA.SO.K. differentiated its tactic from that of the revolutionary Parties. However, it also distinguished it from the tactic of the Social Democratic model marking out that there is not any possibility "of a slow and imperceptible destruction of the system. The logic of 'crawling socialism' NEVER leads to any CHANGE. The limited and non-dangerous alterations are absorbed and assimilated by the system."⁵⁸

For this reason it argued that its own tactical targets and movements were related to strategic preferences and

constituted concrete supports in place and time through which the strategic targets were expressed, even if sometimes they showed that they diverged from them. Social Democratic tactics, without having their stable relationship to strategies could disarticulate and fragment the course of transition and finally render impossible the strategic visions.

Apart from the connection of tactics with strategic targets, PA.SO.K. distinguished its tactic from that of Social Democracy both as to the speed and the manner of realization of intermediate targets and also as to the use of every previous achievement. The speed should be so fast that no chance would be given the system to absorb the change; the way should not be a technocratic decision "from above" but the satisfaction of the aims of the struggle by the popular movement, which safeguarded its active fighting alongside; each achievement should be used as a basis of support and to go forward towards the next target.⁵⁸

The first tactical option of PA.SO.K., which would also be in force until 1977, had already become evident in the founding Declaration of the 3rd September (see appendix one). This tactic consisted of a frontal opposition of the strategic vision vis-à-vis the existing situation, as it was articulated by PA.SO.K. to its discourse. On the one hand, it popularised, projected and made-propaganda for its own strategic targets-the vision of CHANGE-and on the other hand, it exposed and denounced

the kinds and the consequences of the existing dependence, of antidemocratic measures and institutions of the cultural degeneration."The radical opposition of our basic orientation to Right wing policy and the gloomy present day Greek reality define the content and the measure of change"⁵⁹ and, of course, such a specification gave to "change" an admirable meaning.

PA.SO.K. itself would later accept that this strong opposition of "vision to existing" was a conscious tactical option.

"With the full-feeling of our responsibilities and, further, of what was attainable on the part of tactics, in 1974 we projected the long-term targets of great socialist change in our country. This was not an action of simplicity. It was an action based on the knowledge of our preferences and on the implications of these preferences."⁶⁰

In fact, the Left wing and especially the Communist Party of Greece, (essoteriko) then blamed PA.SO.K. for demagogy, for projecting chimeras and utopia. This Party had chosen the tactic of moderate and realistic opposition projecting direct targets capable of being achieved and realistic long-term visions. However, in the 1977 elections the result was much better for PA.SO.K. and, of course, the different tactic followed by the Communist parties contributed to this although it was not the only reason. These different tactics shared a part of the responsibility for the Communist party's gaining a lower percentage of the votes than PA.SO.K.

After 1977 and until 1981, PA.SO.K. changed its tactics: "it does not keep any more the attitude of

revelation and denunciation, as in the previous period. Simultaneously it formulates positive propositions of a direct, intermediate and long-term character."⁶¹

It was the period during which PA.SO.K., seeing before it the perspective of its rise to power, discovered the "attainable"(eficto). The "course" appeared besides the vision." Vision and course constitute an indissoluble unity, which gives the movement its identity and the struggle coherence and consistency."⁶²

Without the strategic visions, the great WHAT, having been left, the partial WHAT and HOW and WHEN, the "intermediate targets", the "small steps" were analysed and specified. Thus, the "course" or "way" appeared attainable and the vision was kept alive.

The application of the tactic each time was, as we have seen, part of the role of the Organization. But we also observe specific tactics in the construction of the Organization itself.

Self-organization was of course, the first tactical choice, which proceeded together with that of radical opposition of vision/that which exists,(1974-1977), while the following organizational tactic of the National-Popular-Unity (E.L.E.) proceeded together with that of the projection of the direct and indirect targets of the government programme (1977-1981).

These practices in PA.SO.K.s social actions and the construction of organization proceed together with the corresponding tactics in its relationship to mass

movements. Thus, PA.SO.K. during the first period (1974-77) pursued the creation of filial relationships and Party supporters in all the mass places.⁶³ In the second period (1977-81), it pursued the "articulation of the Movement to the various mass movements in work places in different areas of life and education."⁶⁴ Its tactic was to extend its presence in quantity and quality within the mass movements so that its political propositions would articulate quickly the partial demands of the mass movements.

As to the element of TACTIC in the discourse of New Democracy we should firstly say that, in contrast with PA.SO.K., N.D. has never spoken about tactics. From what we have said above it emerges that the basic tactic that N.D. followed was that of the prestige and validity of its leader, who appeared as the only one competent to restore democracy and to lead the country to modernization and a Europe united with security. The projection of Karamanlis's prominent personality, (he welcomed almost as saviour during his return from Paris) replaced the presence of a concrete programme, especially during the 1974 elections.

The second tactic which N.D. applied was that of activation of the old network of the clientelist relation through the high-ranking political officers of the Right wing and their party-organisers in the different places.

Another tactical choice, followed specifically in

the 1974-77 period, was N.D.'s effort to persuade the radicalized sections of the people that it had rejected the characteristics which had obscured the political profile of the Right wing in the past. The legalization of the Communist Party, the referendum concerning the form of the regime and the neutral attitude of its leader, the references to social justice and the Welfare state as well as some "socializing" practices in the economic sector (the bank of Andreadis was put under state control) were considered to be consequences of this tactic. In general, we could name this tactic as a tactic of removal from the political profile of the old Right wing. To this tactic the change of the name of the Party from "National Radical Union" to "New Democracy" should be related.

Now we can see the couplets of opposition which the articulation of the element of TACTIC to PA.SO.K.'s discourse created in relation to the articulation of the same element to the discourses of the other Parties. They were as following:

- Opposition of the "vision" to "existing" =/=
- =/= Opposition of the "attainable" to "existing"
- =/= Projection of the Leader only
- Small steps related to strategic targets with proper speed, way of performance and stable use =/=
- =/= EVERYTHING or NOTHING
- =/= disconnected, limited, innocuous alterations
- Formulation of democratic organization E.L.E. and

two - directional relationship with the mass movements \neq Activation and perpetuation of the clientelist relations and removal from the profile of the old Right wing.

\neq Reinforcement of the Party vanguard and of the hegemonic relationship to the mass movements.

From these oppositions and the chains of equivalence they entail it emerges that:

- The element of TACTIC in New Democracy's discourse acquired the meaning of the projection of the Leader of the Party, of the activation and perpetuation of a network of clientelist relations, of the removal from the political profile of the old Right wing and of the limited social modifications of the system, innocuous for it.

- The same element in the Communist Party discourse acquired the meaning of reinforcement of the Party vanguard of the working class and of the hegemonic relations to the mass movements towards the conception "everything or nothing". While in the "Communist Party essoterico" which was different from the other K.K.E., it acquired the meaning of opposition between the "attainable" and "existing" towards the conception of eurocommunism.

- Finally, in P.A.S.O.K.'s discourse the element of TACTIC acquired the meaning of the formulation of an

Organization with democratic principles, of the construction of the National Popular Unity (E.L.E.) and of the establishment of two-way relationships to the mass movements towards progressive socialist Change, through the opposition of "vision"/"that which exists" and with small steps which were related steadily to the strategic targets and had a proper speed and mode (consensual) of performance as well as a stable use.

Having presented the construction of the meaning of the element of Tactics, we come now to examine the construction of the meaning of another key element in PA.SO.K.'s discourse: The element of **STATE**. The construction of the meaning of this element is of much significance especially because one of the main targets of our study is to understand the relationship between State and Education as these were formulated during the period of the country's government by PA.SO.K.

PA.SO.K.'s emphasis on the element of **STATE** already becomes clear from the founding Declaration, where there are many direct and indirect references (see appendix one).

From those to which reference was made in the "Declaration" about the State, it becomes clear that PA.SO.K. also presented here a new "vision" which included radical changes in the form of representation, organization and administration and the role and function

of the State. According to the tactical choice of this period, this "vision" was opposed to "that which exists", which PA.SO.K. called "State of the Right Wing"

The following were shown by PA.SO.K., to be basic characteristics of the "State of the Right Wing":

- As to the **form of representation**: degeneration and corrosion of the representative institutions (Parliament, Local Self-government, Trade Unionism); a crisis which had a deep-rooted historical origin, but which deteriorated during the seven years of government by the Junta. The degeneration of the parliament was shown to be as the result of the personalized (that of the Leader) character of the bourgeois Parties, of the feudal relationship prevailing between the leader of the Party and the Member of Parliament, the Member of parliament and the Party-organiser, the Party-organiser and the voter, and the stable prevalence of the executive power over the law-making one. The degeneration of Local Self-government was related to its limited jurisdictions and financing of it by the government. And the degeneration and corrosion of Trade-Unionism was related to the control safeguarded by the state and the employers through the system of the clientelist relation.

- As to the **form of organization**: swelling of the state sector, extension of bureaucracy and multiplication of legal regulations, centralism and "partization" (seizure of high posts in the State by Party members). These characteristics were related by PA.SO.K. to the

distorted economic and social development and to the conscious preferences of the Right wing.

"The state in Greece, was historically built on the insufficient base of underdevelopment and became the last resort of these forces which the distorted and unequal development removed to the very margins of work"⁶⁵ "Centralism consists in a mechanism consciously erected in order for administration to be easily controlled by the domestic and foreign establishment. Centralism is not a fortuitous phenomenon. It is historically related to our country's dependence on the policy which serves the oligarchy instead of the ordinary Greek citizen... Bureaucracy becomes evident from the clerks' fear of responsibility, which leads to passivity, lack of initiative and the obstruction of modernism on the one hand, and to the oppression and hardship of the citizen on the other"⁶⁶,

which finally makes the state inaccessible. The seizure of high State posts by Party members is characterised as "the greatest ill of the public administration" and it is emphasised that:

"the corrosion of a part of the administration, the relationship of a clerk's career to the illegitimate political favour by a Member of Parliament, by a Party-organizer, or to the recompense of a private citizen or a Business is the consequence of the Party-State of the Right Wing."⁶⁷

Presenting in this way the organization of the state of the Right Wing and projecting the dependence, the distorted development or underdevelopment as conscious preferences of the establishment as reasons for this situation, P.A.S.O.K. could oppose to this the "Hellenization" of the state, "the democratic and anti-bureaucratic function and its modernization"⁶⁸ as its own answer.

- As to the role and function of the state: Here the

privileges and discriminations which had been established not only in the economic but also in the social political and cultural field were projected as main characteristics of the state of the Right Wing. It started from the privileged treatment of foreign and domestic big capital to the cost of the lower and middle strata and of the working people and it proceeded to the differentiation into nationalists and non-nationalists, ours and yours, urban centers and countryside, males and females, etc.

"The state of our Homeland...economically has always led to a definite elite of privileged people, to accumulation.. politically it has been identified with the procedures of imposition of one Wing of the people over the other".⁶⁹ "The Right Wing sacrificed.. even the Greek country itself on the altar of individual profit. The region had always been used as a blood doner for the opportunist and non-coordinated industrial concentration in the big urban centres.. The state of the Right Wing spends for every Greek peasant eight times less than for each person insured by the Foundation of Social Security (I.K.A.), which of course does not constitute a model of social welfare".⁷⁰ "The capitalist structures of the economy and the patriarchal conceptions, which constitute the structure of Family and the organization of society, compose the problem of double oppression of women."⁷¹

Giving this picture for the dividing role of the Right-Wing State, PA.SO.K. could speak of "the restoration of the political unity of the divided Nation" and project "the equality of all citizens before the law and the restoration of the equality and freedom of the citizens as to ideas and activities"⁷², as its own answer to the role of the state.

This we could say in general terms was the antagonistic relation in which PA.SO.K. had been involved

as to the three phases of the Right Wing State (form, organization, role). However during this period New Democracy's government tried through its practices in the state field to transform this picture. As we have seen in New Democracy's discourse there were two key elements: **democratization and modernization**. The articulation of these elements to New Democracy's practices for the state had a concrete result, which we could call "Bourgeois modernism". New Democracy was mainly interested in restoring democratic liberties and those who had been dismissed by Junta; in purging the State mechanism of elements of Junta sympathisers and in safeguarding the normal function of the regime.

Thus, before the 1974 elections New Democracy legalised the Communist Party, which had been illegal since 1947. It also replaced the prefects, mayors and senior civil servants who had been appointed by the Junta and restored to their posts those who had been sacked from them.

It accomplished a referendum on the kind of the regime- "Royalty versus republicanism"- without, however, keeping an open attitude in favour of one or the other form.

Finally, it forged and voted in a new Constitution in 1975 after the result of the referendum, during which the people voted in favour of a Presidential Democracy.

Apart from the legalization of the Communist Party, which was generally acceptable, the other practices

of New Democracy in the state field met with a strong critique from the other Parties. The purging of the state mechanism of the elements of Junta sympathisers was considered as timid and restricted, since it did not proceed in depth especially in the Armed Forces, the Security Organs, Justice and in the other branches of the state. It was said by New Democracy that "only those with main responsibility will be punished."⁷³ We also read:

"In fact, despite the policy of surface reform ... the Post-dictatorship Government of Karamanlis resorted to 'cosmetics' and 'mollifications' instead of healing through 'surgical operations' the political and administrative wounds inherited by the dictatorship."⁷⁴

Purging of the Junta's supporters was more energetic in the universities probably in recognition of the significant role played by the students in the resistance against the dictatorship. It is characteristic of the mild attitude of New Democracy's government to the Junta dictators that the colonels and their close co-workers were prosecuted by private citizens for high treason and tortures, and when the Law-court sentenced them to the death penalty the government converted their punishment to life-imprisonment. Thus purging and consequently democratizing the state mechanisms, and further strengthening democratic institutions, remained in the field of antagonism as an element of contradiction among the Parties.

New Democracy also had been criticised for the neutral attitude it maintained during the referendum. PA.SO.K, the two Communist Parties, the Union of the

Democratic Center and other small Parties had been openly against Royalty and in favour of the Presidential Democracy; they accused New Democracy of political opportunism and for "fishing in dull waters", implying its attempt to include and keep in its ranks those friendly to Royalty. The critique, however, and the contradiction were stronger during the vote for the new Constitution. The voting of the articles which referred to the jurisdiction of the President of the Republic constituted the culmination of the opposed attitudes among the Parties, while defining in the article 1 of the Constitution that: "The form of government of Greece is Presidential Parliamentary Democracy."⁷⁵ Through the articles from 35 to 48 such jurisdiction is transmitted to the President of the Republic so that the regime tends to be converted into Presidential Democracy à la De Gaulle, where the President is elected directly by the people. PA.SO.K. and the two Communist Parties reacted to the strengthening of the jurisdiction of the President of the Republic which New Democracy pursued, by arguing that the President was not elected directly by the people but indirectly by the Parliament and because of that his jurisdiction should be restricted. In protest at this PA.SO.K. and the two Communist Parties left the Parliament and the constitution was voted in only by New Democracy. Later (in 1985), as we shall see, PA.SO.K. with the support of the Left revised the Constitution as to these articles and transmitted some of the

jurisdiction from the President of the Republic to the Parliament and the Government.

Electoral Law has also been a significant point of contradiction between New Democracy and the other political Parties. New Democracy has argued in favour of a system of Reinforced Proportional Representation, which facilitated the creation of a strong one - Party government, since it was reinforcing especially the first Party to the cost of the other smaller Parties. However, this system falsified the representation of Parties in the Parliament, since the percentage of votes was not expressed by a corresponding percentage of parliamentary seats. P.A.S.O.K. and the Left argued for the voting in of a stable electoral system, of Simple proportional Representation, so that the popular force of all the parties would be translated without falsification into Parliamentary seats.

Despite the critiques and contradictions we could say that New Democracy in and through its above practices succeeded in making some changes mainly in the form of the state towards democratization and modernism. However, it left the organizational and administrative structure of the state untouched. The centralized and bureaucratic character and the inaccessible nature of the state remained to a great extent and continued to constitute elements of very strong opposition in the field of political antagonism. Also, while in the beginning New Democracy seemed to adopt a form of state

function in favour of some restriction of the capital exemption and some lessening of social inequalities, this policy was quickly abandoned after the resignation of the National Economy Minister, A.Papaligouras, in favour of a kind of Liberalism which showed favours to capitalist accumulation. Thus the contradiction around the role of the state also kept its centrality in the field of political antagonism.

PA.SO.K., positioning the State within the socialist transformation, had stated the subjection of the state to Society to be its strategic target and, as we have seen, this vision basically presupposed the **democratization and Hellenization** of the state. In the government programme which it made after 1977, PA.SO.K. specialised its vision in intermediate targets and partial measures. Thus, the Hellenization of the state included the integration of the purging measures within the state mechanisms of the "rotten apples" which served Foreign interests and not those of the Greek People, promoting another "philosophy" through education and the mass media, and the Hellenization of state consumption. As to democratization, provision was made for the upgrading of the Parliament through the abolition of the cross of preference during the procedure of Members of Parliament elections, so that the network of the clientelist relations would be broken through the economic support and the economic control of Parties by the State, in order to do away with their hidden dependence on

capital and through the strengthening of the role of Parliament to the cost of executive power. Provision was also made for upgrading the Local Self-government through transference of resources and jurisdiction and the creation of Second and Third grade of local self-government, that is, self-government at the level of Prefecture (Nomos) or Sub-Prefecture (2nd grade) and at the level of district (periphéria) (3rd grade)⁷⁶. Besides, upgrading of Trade-Unionism by its disengagement from the employer and state dependence and by strengthening its role through its participation in different state councils and instruments of social control. Democratization projected by P.A.S.O.K. was not restricted to the form of the state only, as happened in N.D.'s discourse, but it was extended to organization and the role of the state.

Thus, as to **Organization**, provision was made for simplification in the procedure of decision-making by lessening bureaucracy and loosening the severe hierarchical structures, through the decentralization of services and jurisdiction both by making as well as in execution of decisions. In this way the administration would become more flexible and effective and more accessible to the citizen. Provision was also made for the creation of new institutions of **social control and popular participation**, so that the "mania for secrecy" prevailing in the state sector would be broken; the decisions of the administration would have immediate

popular support and the people would not be restricted only to the expression of its political will during election day.

"The People.. participates actively at all the levels during all stages, in all processes, from the design of planning right up to the control of the activities performed within its framework"⁷⁷.

The new institutions for which provision was made within the framework of the Democratic Planning were: Popular Assemblies, Local Regional apparatuses, Prefectorial Councils etc.

It becomes evident that here we have a new articulation of the state to the social agents, which we call **socialization of the State**. This new articulation modifies their identities and changes the relationship between them. It also creates new couplets of oppositions to the state discourses of the other Parties which we will show later.

- As to the role of the state: PA.SO.K. put emphasis on its economic, social and cultural function. Apart from the performance of new infrastructure projects from roads to research centre, the modification of the "status quo" in financing, granting of loans, and subsidies, PA.SO.K. put specific emphasis on the socialization of state enterprises and the

"key sectors of economy: credit system, exports and imports, large enterprises to exploit mineral wealth, the pharmaceutical industry, the large shipyards, the steel, cement and fertilizer industries and also many units which dealt directly with national defence... The element which will participate decisively in the realization of this target (of socialization) is the participation of the working people and the

representation of Local self-government and the social agents in the administration of the enterprises."78

Greater emphasis was laid on announcing measures to be taken in relation to the state's social function: the redistribution of the national income in favour of the popular classes and the protection of the income of the working people through "carrying out the automatic re-adjustment to the cost of living Index (A.T.A.) in relation to working people's rewards and pensions in fixed time intervals" and through "a deep reform of the taxation system"79, which would reverse redistribution in favour of working people and would allot the burden justly on all; anti-worker legislation was reformed to the advantage of the employee; a National Health System(E.S.Y.) was established to put an end to the commercialization of health; democratization and upgrading of education, which it described as fundamental for the structural transformation of society, so that changes in education become its first priority80 (with the educational dimension of PA.SO.K.'s discourse we shall deal in detail later). Measures to ensure the provision of sufficient housing for workers, the protection of the environment, social security, and the equality of the two sexes were also projected. Finally, measures were envisaged which would ensure the democratization of the state mass media -we may note here that one of the two T.V. channels belonged to Armed forces-, the upgrading of the quality of life and the

cultural development, especially.

"Direct and radical measures... for the protection of the environment, to reverse the hitherto destructive course this had followed. Every measure which would protect the health and the life of the residents would be carried out without hesitation."^{s1}"For years and years the Right Wing appeared as the 'depository of tradition'. It was no more than the keeper of fetters on the People's cultural expression.. The people, finally, would become both recipient and the agent of contemporary cultural creation."^{s2}

From what we have presented above it becomes clear that the STATE was not only a central element in PA.SO.K.'s discourse but also around this element a great number of oppositions were created, especially to the discourse of New Democracy. And even more, that the oppositions, which had been created through the articulation of other elements in PA.SO.K.'s discourse such as Socialist transformation, Popular dominance, National Independence, Social Liberation, re-appear here and are further elucidated and strengthened. In other words, we could say that in the state dimension of PA.SO.K.'s discourse many of the elements we met in its general discourse are articulated and for this reason a kind of repetition of the oppositions appears. Thus, placing emphasis on the oppositions created by the articulation of the STATE element in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, we will dwell particularly on those that were new or elucidated and we will avoid repeating ourselves to the extent that an almost global presentation of the oppositions of this element allows. Thus, we have:

As to the form of representation:

Co-existence of autonomous and upgraded Representative Institutions with the Institutions of Popular Participation of Social control	=/	Only Representative Institutions under-graded and controlled through a network of clientelist relations or of the Party ones.
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Socialization of the State	=/	Joining of Party and State, total power of the State over Society
Electoral system of simple proportional representation	=/	Electoral system of reinforced proportional representation.

As to the form of Organization and Administration:

Decentralization and technocratic support	=/	Over centralization and Party Favours
Lessening of Bureaucracy and simplification of procedures	=/	Bureaucratic system and multiplicity
Lessening of hierarchical structures with at the same time increase of social control and decrease in secrecy	=/	Severe hierarchical structures and mania for secrecy
Hellenization and non-seizure of the state mechanism by the Party members	=/	Superficial purging and seizure of the state mechanism by Party members

As to the role and function :

Democratic Planning for the economic and social development	=/	Liberalism and/or Central Planning by the government or the Party
Redistribution of the national income in favour of people with lower salaries and the countryside	=/	Capitalist accumulation and sharpening of inequalities.
Establishment of the Automatic Re-adjustment of salaries and pensions to the cost of living index (A.T.A.)	=/	High-handed specification of the percentage of income increases.
Socialization of State Enterprises and Organizations and Key-sectors of the economy	=/	Total state control over enterprises and Organizations and/or maintenance of the privileges of big capital

Establishment of the National Health system	=/=	Commercialization of Health
Upgrading and democratization of education	=/=	Authoritarian and degraded education
Safeguarding employment social security and housing for all people	=/=	Indifference towards or half-measures concerning dealing with the consequences of Laws of the Free Market
Safeguarding equality of the two sexes.	=/=	Perpetuation of inequalities.
Abolition of the political and social discriminations of the civil war through the abrogation of the rule controlling political beliefs, the recognition of the National Resistance and the return of the political refugees from the eastern countries	=/=	Separation of the citizens into "nationalist" and "non-nationalist" (1 st and 2 nd category citizens)
Protection and upgrading of environment in favour of the social whole	=/=	Exploitation and destruction on the altar of profit
Democratization and Upgrading of Mass Media for free exchange and competition of ideas	=/=	Maintenance of their control and degradation
Upgrading of the cultural life especially in the countryside, with care for the maintenance of our cultural identity	=/=	Abandoning cultural activity to private initiative with its limits remaining those of urban centres.

From the couplets of oppositions and the chains of equivalence they entail it follows that in New Democracy's discourse the state was acquiring the meaning of a system of representative institutions controlled by the Right Wing Party through a net work of clientelist relations and the electoral system of reinforced proportional representation; with an overcentralised, bureaucratic, of severely hierarchical structures, complex and Party-based organization. The State as

conceived by New Democracy through its centrally designed function, aims at safeguarding capitalist accumulation, the privileges of big Capital, the maintenance of economic, social and cultural inequalities and discrimination, which partially shows itself as the differentiation of citizens into nationalists and non-nationalists; the commercialization of Health; authoritarian and degraded education; indifference towards or half-measures about dealing with the problems of unemployment, social security, and housing; the perpetuation of inequalities of the two sexes; the destruction of the environment on the altar of profit; the control and degrading of the Mass Media; Indifference concerning the maintenance of Greek cultural identity and particularly the absence of cultural life in the countryside.

In contrast, in P.A.S.O.K.'s discourse the State was acquiring the meaning of an ensemble of Institutions where autonomous and upgraded representative organs -in which the representatives are elected through a system of simple proportional representation- coexist with Institutions of Popular Participation and social control. These representative Institutions coexist with a decentralized and technocratically based, less bureaucratic, more loosely hierarchical and more social controlled organization, which through the democratic (social) planning of economic and social development aims at: redistributing the National product in favour of the

lower social strata together with a just system of taxation and establishment of the Automatic Readjustment of salaries and pensions to the cost of living index (A.T.A.); socializing the state enterprises and key sectors of economy; abolishing political and social discrimination through the abrogation of the rule controlling political beliefs, the recognition by Law of the National Resistance and the return of the refugees from the Eastern countries; upgrading and democratising education; safeguarding employment, social security and housing for all the people; ensuring equality between the two sexes; protecting and upgrading the environment; democratising and improving the Mass Media for the free exchange and competition of ideas; ameliorating cultural life, especially in the countryside with specific care being taken in the maintenance of the Greek cultural identity; all this aiming, that is, at achieving in general and in the long term Social Liberation.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, while criticising the State of the Right-Wing, presenting it as instrument of "economic oligarchy" of "domestic and foreign monopoly capital", which with an authoritarianism similar to that of the police force oppresses and governs the citizen and which, on the one hand, gives privileges and supports exploitation and on the other hand sharpens inequalities and perpetuates discriminations; which is not interested in the destruction of the environment and corrosion of our cultural identity, in the sense of

projection of the foreign cultural models nevertheless did not proceed in its own alternative proposal concerning the State. The Communist Party spoke of "de-Juntization" (purging Junta sympathisers of the state mechanisms) and purging from the Right-Wing Party those members who had taken high posts in the State; of strengthening the representative institutions (Parliament, Local self-government, Trade Unionism); of the application of the simple proportional representation as a stable electoral system; of a necessary opening within the hitherto impervious Armed Forces and Security Bodies; of openness of the Mass Media which should transmit information freely to the people etc. But, it did not elucidate and present its own integrated proposal concerning the form, organization and the role of the State.

Thus the oppositions were created indirectly by the Communist Party's general theoretical positions and by its friendly and even servile attitude towards the Soviet Union. This attitude permitted the other Parties to present it as a "satellite" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to identify its not stated proposal about the State to that which had already been in the model of "existing Socialism". That is, the oppositions were made not on the basis of those that the Communist Party of Greece (K.K.E.) partially supported, but on the model of the state existing in the Eastern countries. As P.A.S.O.K also noted the K.K.E. supported without criticism

"the model of 'existing socialism' which it considered to be an ideological, political, social, economic, developmental, socialist model" ⁸³.

The K.K.E., having its theoretical roots in the Third international, seems to see the Bourgeois State which embodied its power in society as an instrument of omnipotence, which passes into the hands of the working class through an external assault on the part of "the Party of the working class".

"The victorious conflict on the part of Working class leads the Party to fuse with the state, to the final identification and the concentration of the forms of Power into a very strong bureaucracy. The popular masses simply remain in 'the representation through representatives' and not in participation".⁸⁴

Thus, and apart from the fact that the K.K.E. supported the strengthening of democratic institutions, PA.SO.K. outlined in more general terms its opposition to the K.K.E. as follows: we reject the model of "existing Socialism, which in the formulation of a gigantic State accumulation has short-circuited democracy as a result man not being enlisted in the system as subject of history."⁸⁵

Also PA.SO.K.'s attitudes in opposition to the K.K.E. had more to do with the form and organization of the State and less with its role. Through these oppositions the State appeared to take in K.K.E.'s discourse, the meaning of a powerful instrument which is identified with the Party-vanguard of the working class and concentrates all power, abolishing the multi-Party

system, polyphony, democracy and freedom. Thus, the State, through a gigantic bureaucracy, centrally plans and regulates in an authoritarian manner every aspect of economic, social and cultural life of the country.

We will close this presentation and analysis of the construction of the meaning of the State in PA.SO.K.'s discourse with an observation which we consider throws additional light on the intelligibility of this element. Thus, we observe that the role and the function of the State in PA.SO.K.'s discourse are articulated to the strategy of **"one Nation"** -it is what Laclau-Mouffe call articulation of difference-⁶⁶ in contrast to that of **"two Nations"** which the Right wing had chosen throughout the post-war period and New Democracy continued though to a lesser extent. The discrimination between nationalists and non-nationalists was accompanied by economic and social consequences, since only nationalists could have a post in the state sector (which is very much swollen in Greece)⁶⁷ and since only they could make use of privileges concerning loans and other kinds of financial aid given by the State. The non-nationalists were condemned to social and economic marginalization, independently of their qualifications and their abilities. Thus, we had two Nations. By placing emphasis on the recognition of National Resistance-during the period of German occupation; by abolishing files on the politically disaffected and ensuring the free return of the refugees from the Eastern countries PA.SO.K.

attempted the total abrogation of the previous distinction between "nationalists" and "non-nationalists". PA.SO.K.'s policy of lessening the inequalities between urban centres and the rural regions; between high and low salaried people, as well as between males and females, it strengthened even more the idea of "one Nation". Finally, it is worth noting that one of the signals prevailing at PA.SO.K.'s pre-election meetings was "the people do not forget what the Right means"; what the people always remember is the authoritarian State of discrimination and privilege, which the Right Wing had established in favour of one part of the people at the cost of the other.

We come now to examine other central element in PA.SO.K.'s discourse: the **ECONOMY**:

Having as its basic attitude the confirmation that "the dependence of our country is the root of its calamity "(Appendix I) PA.SO.K. aimed at "the release of our economy from the control of foreign monopoly and domestic comprador capital" (Appendix I). For this reason, the disengagement of Greece was necessary " From military political and e c o n o m i c coalitions, which undermine our National Independence and the dominant right of the Greek people to plan for itself the social, economic, political and cultural progress of the country" (Appendix I). Thus, PA.SO.K.'s response to the economic and social crisis was that "the only road which can lead

to progress and social liberation and help the consolidation of National Independence"⁸⁸ was self-reliant, autonomous economic development. In this way PA.SO.K. aspired to overcome the economic and social crisis. And it hastened to explain that:

"self-reliant development does not have any relation to self - sufficiency and economic isolation...it means release from the domination of our economy by Foreign centres and capitals and a release from exploitation". It means "equality of participation in International economic activities and exchanges. However, there is a difference between an equal relationship and subjection".⁸⁹ It also means that self-reliant autonomous economic development "is based mainly on the mobilization of our own forces, their rational use with social criteria and a continuous widening of our own abilities".⁹⁰ The self-reliant, autonomous economic development is considered by PA.SO.K. to presuppose "the decisive participation of the working people and the use of scientists... the abolition of the division between those who make the decision and those who are subject to the consequences of these decisions".⁹¹

As we read in the founding Declaration (Appendix I), socialization, worker's control, new forms of peasant partnerships to facilitate distribution of agricultural product and cut off the "middle man" entrepreneurs and the democratic planning of economy are considered to be basic levers for the realization of the self-reliant, autonomous economic development.

Applying the tactical choice of radical opposition between "vision" and "what exists" ("existing"), PA.SO.K. opposed the "vision" of the self-reliant economic development to the previous characteristics of what it considered as "existing" model of "obstructed, unequal and distorted development" which was the result of Right

Wing choices. This model of obstructed development had the following main characteristics:⁹¹

- Dependent Industrialization: heavy industry remained at an elementary stage, while at the same time there was a strong orientation towards the exploitation of products and of the work-force and towards the importation of capital and technology by multi-national enterprises in the form of direct productive investments.

- Open economy: an economy which depends to a great extent on external factors and is open to the repercussions of the international economy conditions.

- Increased role of the public sector and the banking-credit system as to the productive process which led to an excessive swelling of the tertiary sector and to an extended form of parasitic economy (circuits of distribution, middle-men, mediations, subcontracts etc).

- Easy profit, concentration of wealth, the escape of capital to foreign countries is an endemic phenomenon of Greek Capitalism.

- Despite the impressive increase in some indices of development (per capita income, progress in exports...) the inequalities were sharpened within the country both between the social strata and the urban centres and the countryside.

PA.SO.K. also argued that these solid characteristics of the Greek economy were sharpened during the period of the dictatorship and the macro-economic indices (inflation, unemployment, stagnation of

investments, deficit in the balance of trade) deteriorated.

After the period of the dictatorship the then Minister of the National economy, P. Papaligouras, appeared to have made a similar judgement as to the articulatory problems of the Greek economy and tried to press forward with some developmental reforms. In fact, two opposed tendencies were expressed within New Democracy. One was in favour of a widening of the role of the State in the economic field, so that progress could be made in economic development and the closed circuit of economic power would be broken (Papaligouras P. and at least in the beginning Karamanlis K. belonged to this tendency)⁹². The other tendency in New Democracy was in favour of manipulating power within a severe conservative framework, leaving more room for the free function of market Laws. The sudden removal of Papaligouras, who had been accused of "social-mania", from the ministry of National Economy (then it was called "Co-ordination") meant the prevalence of the second tendency and the abandonment of any serious articulatory reform. It is worth noting that Karamanlis himself had declared at the beginning of the period that:

"It is impossible to pursue a healthy economic policy through the free economy, without being ambitious for the social justice and welfare of the Greek population at the same time."⁹³

Thus, at the beginning the economic practices of New Democracy's government moved towards a juster distribution of national income, through changes in the taxation system, increases of salaries and wages, the revision of disadvantageous agreements which the colonels had

contracted with foreign companies, going as far as the nationalization of the banks and enterprises of the broken-Industrialist S. Andreadis. However, later these economic practices changed direction through the abolition of the tax on real estate, the re-establishing of the Law 2687/53 "about foreign investments in Greece"; (this law provided a guarantee against probable nationalization, privileges related to repatriation of capital, privileged tax treatment and other kind of facilities)⁹⁴ and through austerity measures for the working people, which in combination with the increase in inflation reduced the working people's ability to buy things and sharpened economic inequalities. The international oil crisis, economic pressures and the need for increasing investment which was at that time in a depression were the official excuses for this about-turn. However, we should not ignore the strong reaction of the Union of Industrialists to the previous economic policy of the New Democracy government.

In this period, the main care of the New Democracy government was to hasten the country towards joining the E.E.C. For Greece to join the E.E.C. was for the New Democracy the great target, the attainment of which would safeguard not only economic development of the country but also its national security. G. Rallis, Prime Minister in the New Democracy government after K. Karamanlis, speaking to Party-officials in 1980, said:

"... since we realized the great change through our joining the European Community, which will integrate

Greece's social welfare and progress within conditions of social and political calm, we leave our opponents undisturbed to manufacture slogans and make noise, promising another change of which they do not give even the meaning".⁹⁵

Thus, for New Democracy Greece's joining E.E.C. was the great CHANGE which was in contradistinction to the socialist CHANGE which P.A.S.O.K. was promising. G. Rallis also would later say that when Greece joined the E.E.C. this was "a fact that sometime will be recognised as the most significant achievement of contemporary Greece"⁹⁶ The emphasis given to Greece's joining the E.E.C. and the hopes based on this fact in combination with the declared belief of New Democracy "in the liberal economy" probably explain why N.D.'s economic practices were restricted to a manipulation of the existing situation without having attempted solutions of the great articulatory problems of the economy. Thus, while during the First years (1975-77). N.D.'s economic practices showed some positive results (average increase of the N.G.P. at 4.4%, increase in exports and improvement of the working people's buying power), in the following years they led to economic depression with an increase of inflation at 25%, stagnation of private investment, an increase in unemployment, a resort to external loans to cover the deficits in the balance of Trade and restriction of the N.G.P..⁹⁷

It is worth noting that this economic situation had been emphasised in a secret paper of the N.D.'s vice-president addressed to the Prime Minister two months before the 1981 elections. However, this paper saw the light of

publicity and gave the opposition the chance to maintain that all the declarations of the Government about the course of the economy had been proved false and that the total failure of the Right Wing economic policy had become evident "through the hand" of Averoff (the vice-president).

In contrast to N.D., which as we have seen had argued in favour of the free economy which is based on private initiative; and to the Communist Party, which indirectly always seemed to argue in favour of the nationalization of the economy, PA.SO.K. openly supported the model of the mixed economy, where the public, the private and the social sector would co-exist, mutually competing against each other and supporting each other.

- As for the **state sector**: "The recovery and rehabilitation of the State sector and specifically the socialization of the state enterprises and organizations (D.E.K.O.) is our direct target".⁹⁸ Through socialization, that is, the participation of the working people as well as of Local selfgovernment and of social agents in the administration of enterprises, PA.SO.K. would aim at crushing bureaucracy, decentralizing decisions and procedures, at harmonising production with the targets of democratic planning at finding resources and promoting a development investment programme. PA.SO.K. also argued that state investment should constitute "the lever of economic development and the articulatory changes in our country."⁹⁹ For this reason they should turn on strategic sectors of the economy, where private initiative

hesitated to invest either because of the cost of investment or of risk.

- As to the private sector: Its role and significance were recognised. Emphasis, however, was given to searching for the sectors of productive activity which were flourishing competitively at an international level and, simultaneously, to reducing dependence on foreign countries. This attempt would be made within the framework of the five-year programme of social and economic development and a specific Law concerning motives and investment would be directed towards these sectors and branches. Also specific provision would be made for the rehabilitation of those indebted private enterprises, which would be considered to be viable or of strategic significance. Finally, specific emphasis was given to strengthening small and middle enterprises which constituted a significant and dynamic part of the Greek economy, "through credit and taxation policy, education and specialization and mainly through effective promotion of new forms of production"⁹⁹

- As to the social sector or social experimentation, it included:

Socialization of the indebted but viable enterprises in strategic sectors of economy, as well as the socialization of key sectors of the economy. Companies with a popular base. Municipal and Community enterprises. Associations in the sector of production, consumption, housing etc. Workers' control units.

In the socialized and municipal enterprises, apart

from the essential participation of employees, the participation of other social agents would be secured as well, while in the associations individual initiative would be replaced by a collective private initiative. In both cases, new forms and relations of production would be tested and formed.

The development and prevalence of the socialized sector was PA.SO.K.'s strategic target since socialist transformation meant for PA.SO.K. socialization of the means of production and socialization of the means of power. Exactly this rearticulation of the economy to the social agents within PA.SO.K.'s discourse makes it different from those of N.D. and of the Communist Party, changing the identities of the economy and the social agents and creating new relations between them. In other words, PA.SO.K.'s answer to the dilemma of private initiative or statization was socialization.

Apart from these general positions adopted on the model of a mixed economy, PA.SO.K. suggested concrete measures for facing the direct problems of the Greek economy; it saw inflation and depression as such problems.

PA.SO.K. maintained that combating inflation requires activity coordinated simultaneously on many fronts and announced concrete measures:¹⁰⁰

- Effective control of the prices of basic products and services, while N.D. in practice had left prices and profits free of control.
- Effective control of the state expenditure, in

contrast to the fickleness, as it characterised it of New Democracy's policy concerning the distribution of state expenditure.

- Effective credit control through socialization of the credit system, which would minimise the leakages for financial speculation and non-productive activities.
- Measures for active restriction of tax evasion. - Promoting productive investments within the framework of targets of democratic planning.
- Invigorating production by strengthening the employees buying power especially that of the low-salaried, who consume goods mainly of domestic production.

Also measures were proposed to harmonise and develop equally all the productive sectors: Energy, Mineral wealth, Industry, Agriculture, Merchant marine and Tourism. Specific emphasis was placed on the "revival of the country" and the relationship of the agricultural sector to Industry (rural-industrial associations) and to Tourism.

PA.SO.K. maintained that self-reliant development presupposes a release of the economy from dominance by foreign centres of decision. For this reason, PA.SO.K. put itself in a position of opposing Greece joining the E.E.C., since "Joining entails a transfer of National sovereignty to foreign centres insofar as crucial matters of National Economy are concerned."¹⁰¹ And it promised to ask for a referendum to allow the people to decide if it desired

membership of the E.E.C.

It also emphasised that the relations of dependence can be created by agreements on a private and business level as well as by external Loans. Thus, it accepted foreign investments under concrete conditions provided that they participated in economic development and were not to the cost of the Greek economy; it adopted the external loan only if it had a dynamic developmental character and did not entail any other political or economic restriction, apart from the service of the debt.

This programme of PA.SO.K. on the economy was criticised by New Democracy as demagogic and utopian, the probable application of which would bring about great economic and social disturbance..¹⁰²

It is argued also that the watch words "out of N.A.T.O." and "out of the E.E.C." put in danger not only the National independence of Greece, but also its economic progress and the future of democracy..¹⁰³

The Communist Party critique was mainly restricted to the matters of "Socialization", "Worker's control", "Decentralization" and the forms of "Popular participation"¹⁰⁴, where it pointed out ambiguities, confusions, exaggerations and "social-reformist" conceptions, since the means of production would continue to remain in the hands of private people to a great extent. PA.SO.K. argued that the Communist Party, by degrading and/or neutralizing the meaning of the socialized sector, proposed,

"indirectly, the abolition of the private sector and its replacement by a gigantic state system which could direct the course of development and the expansion of the forces of production in an automatic way, as a realistic proposal."¹⁰⁵

However, the Communist Party had also put itself against Greece's Joining the E.E.C. and against dependence on foreign and domestic monopolies and without having declared this explicitly, seemed to agree with the strategy of self-reliant economic development. It also spoke of a just reform of taxation, abolition of privileges, redistribution of national income, increase in the employees income, of price control, of crushing illicit gains and the parasitic economy, of changing the motives of investment and strengthening rural income.

Here a remark of the then Prime-Minister G. Rallis to a pre-election rally of PA.SO.K.'s members in 1981 is worth noting "... the slogans, however -apart from the cry "Papandreou-Papandreou"- were identical to those which the Communist Party used in the rallies for its members".¹⁰⁶ This exactly the "identity of slogans" reveals the more general coincidence as well which there was in the proposed basic practices.

In addition PA.SO.K. also avoided giving specific emphasis to its opposition to the Communist Party. Papandreou himself declared that "For PA.SO.K. the struggle for change has only one front and its target is the Right Wing".¹⁰⁷ As we have marked out in other parts of our study, opposition to the Communist Party was created mainly on the basis of its dogmatic theoretical assumptions, which

the K.K.E. insisted on maintaining even though these frequently came into contradiction with its actual practices.

Having accepted the "Eurocommunist" model the "Communist Party Essoteriko" argued in favour of Greece joining the E.E.C., but it criticised the urgency with which Greece had joined without proper preparation. Its critique of P.A.S.O.K.'s economic programme was milder than that of the Communist Party of Greece (K.K.E.), since generally it was not opposed to socialization, social participation, social control and democratic planning. Its disagreements were restricted mainly to the mode of their realization and it accused P.A.S.O.K. of seducing the Greek people through the projection of its vision as attainable. Its critique of P.A.S.O.K. was permanently characterized by "Yes, on the one hand, but....." and this to some extent was a consequence of the different tactic which it had chosen and which, as already noted, aimed at opposing the "existing" to the "attainable", without this being connected to any vision.

Having discussed the above, we can now concentrate on the couplets of oppositions, which the articulation of the element of economy to P.A.S.O.K.'s discourse created in relation to the articulation of the same element in the discourses of its main opponents, New Democracy and the Communist Party (K.K.E.).

Thus we have:

System of mixed economy, where the state, private and socialized	=/=	Free economy, based on private initiative,
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or social sector co-exist competitively, with a more distant target the socialization of the means of production.	=/=	but also on the reinforcing activity of the State. Statization of the means of production.
Self-reliant, well balanced economic development, equal in all its parts.	=/=	Dependent, unequal and distorted economic development.
Out of the E.E.C., Conditions for foreign investment and restriction of external loans for safeguarding Independence of National Economy.	=/=	Joining the E.E.C., incentives and privileges for foreign investments, for safeguarding of National Independence and economic progress.
Emphasis on the employees' and social agents' participation in all the productive procedure; on decentralization and democratic planning.	=/=	Emphasis on the achievement of individual profit as incentive for economic development.
	=/=	Emphasis on the significance of central planning.
Effective social control of the banking-credit system, of state expenditure, of prices and profits and of the key sectors of economy.	=/=	Lessening the control and maintenance of protectionism and incentives instead of the free function of Market Laws.
Redistribution of National income in favour of the lower income strata and in favour of the countryside; crushing tax evasion and the parasitic economy.	=/=	Maintainance and/or sharpening of economic inequalities without this being considered as contradicting declarations concerning social justice.

From these oppositions and the correspondent chains of equivalences they entail it results that in New Democracy's discourse the element of economy acquired the meaning of a system of a free economy, which is based on private initiative, but also on the reinforcing activity of the state. According to New Democracy, the development of the Economy depended on Greece's position within the Western world and especially on its joining the E.E.C. The meaning here of the element of ECONOMY was achievement of

individual profit which constituted the basic motive of economic activity; and despite reduced state control, the incentives and the privileges were kept and the free function of the Market Laws were not restored. Finally, the maintenance and sharpening of social inequalities was not considered to contradict "social justice".

In the Communist Party's discourse, and through the above direct and indirect oppositions, the element of ECONOMY acquired the meaning of statization of the means of production and self-reliant economic development, on the basis of central planning, out of the E.E.C., stopping the dependence of the country on foreign and domestic monopolies and abolishing economic inequalities.

Finally, in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, the element of ECONOMY acquired the meaning of a system of mixed economy, where the state, private and social sector competitively co-existed and where, in the long term, was aimed at the socialization of the means of production together with the self-reliant and balanced economic development; equal in all its parts, based on the participation of employees and the social agents, on decentralization and democratic planning. This element of ECONOMY also meant "out of the E.E.C." and independence both from foreign investment and external loans; applying decisive social control over the banking-credit system, state expenditure, prices and profits and the key sectors of the economy; redistributing the national income in favour of the lower income strata and the countryside.

We shall integrate this part of our study, which refers to a first construction of the meaning of the key elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse -through the oppositions created as PA.SO.K. tried to answer the events of the conjuncture and the specific discourses of the other Parties- by presenting one other central element: the element of **EDUCATION**.

In Greece the field of **education** constituted and constitutes one of the main areas of confrontation and conflict between conservative and progressive social forces and their respective political battalions. It is characteristic that every important political change, over the period of the past hundred years, has brought in its wake corresponding attempts to introduce reforms and counter-reforms in the field of education, so that this subject has never ceased to be one of Greek society's chief concerns and interests.

PA.SO.K., in its founding Declaration (3rd September 1974), made an extensive reference to Education and briefly gave most of the characteristics of its objectives (see Appendix I) which later would be developed in detail in speeches, conferences and texts as well as in the Declaration of its government policy indicating that education constituted a central element of its discourse.

However, New Democracy, which was in government during the post-dictatorship period (1974-1981) also showed

through its practices that it placed education at the centre of its interests. For the first time a government of the conservative Wing adopted and pushed forward a plan of educational reform which included most of the measures which the democratic Party of the Centre Union (E.K.) had enacted in 1964. Free education, the establishment of the Demotic language and the change of direction towards Technical-Vocational education were its main characteristics.

Thus, the answer of New Democracy to the Junta's antidemocratic, old-fashioned educational practices was D e m o c r a t i z a t i o n and M o d e r n i z a t i o n of education. From another viewpoint these meanings, as already seen were at the centre (or to use Laclau's words "nodal points") of New Democracy's general discourse.

However, what was the concrete meaning that these concepts acquired in and through New Democracy's practices as well as the oppositions created to the respective discourses of the other Parties?

We will attempt to understand exactly this in what follows.

The establishment of the Demotic language as the language of instruction and of textbooks,¹⁰⁸ instruction in ancient Greek through translation in the three first grades of Secondary school; the extension of the period of compulsory education from 6 to 9 years ¹⁰⁹ and the establishment of free education at all levels were considered as measures of d e m o c r a t i z i n g

education, since they abolished social barriers and established "equal opportunities" for access of all Greek pupils to education. These measures were considered to be positive and were supported by all the Parties. On the other hand, strong criticism was made both by PA.SO.K. and the Communist Parties of the separation of the six-year Secondary education¹¹⁰ into three years of the Gymnasium (Lower High School) and three years of the Lyceum (Upper High School) and of the establishment of severe examinations for entrance to the Lyceum as well as the enactment of one examination after the other for entrance to Higher Education. These measures were criticised for putting up new barriers within education and for being unjust especially for the children of the lower social strata. According to PA.SO.K.s main spokesman¹¹¹, the separation of Secondary education, which was likened to the "China Wall", and the entrance examinations into the Lyceums were a "deadly blow to education" for they would condemn the majority of 15year-olds, who principally came from the provinces and economically weak families, to lower levels of education. Thus, "damaged psychologically, and with an inferior educational preparation, our youth will be an easy prey as cheap labour for local and foreign employers". The two communist parties¹¹² also characterised these measures as unjust. The separation of secondary education was especially considered to be "morally, socially and nationally unacceptable" by the "Communist Party essoteriko". In other words, it seemed that through

the establishment of examinations New Democracy was giving emphasis to the equality as far as entry was concerned, while P.A.S.O.K. and the Communist Parties maintained that attention should be paid to equality in performance, in results. Related to this view is the statement. "The 1976 reform marks the return to a technical approach to the problem; education is again considered isolated from its social implications".¹¹³ A critique was also made of the Law 309/76 about the organization and administration of General Education (Primary and Secondary) for leaving untouched the existing authoritarian structures,¹¹⁴ the severe hierarchical control and centralism in education. The establishment of participation of one elected representative from the teachers' Union in the educational councils was, of course, a measure of democratization, but it was the only one and was considered to be less important, since the four other members of the council were inspectors, appointed by the administration of education. The critique referred mainly to the maintenance of the institution of the inspectors and supervisors of education, despite the Teacher's Trade Unions having argued strongly against it.

"The long pre-history of this establishment explains why it was, from the first years of its application, hostile and foreign to the schools and the educational staff. Apart from some bright exceptions, the meaning of inspectors was identical with the meaning of 'bogy man' for a very long period of time".¹¹⁵

The maintenance of the institution of inspector, the procedure and the manner of the teachers' evaluation,

the manner teachers were promoted, the method of deciding grade and salary and the whole organization and administration of education were considered as insistence on anti-democratic structures and as an attempt at maintaining the severe state control of education. On the other hand, New Democracy's attempt to present the setting up of the regional educational councils as a form of decentralization failed.

"To avoid any misunderstanding decentralization is not realized by the regional supervisors (a rank over the inspector) and the inspectors of the schools. On the contrary, their presence in the region oppressively stresses the absolute centralization of the administration of education. Decentralization would be based on an essential participation of the people in the administration and planning of education".¹¹⁶

As to the m o d e r n i z a t i o n of education, N. D.'s practices were included in the Law 186/75, on K.E.M.E. (Centre of Educational Studies and Research), in the Law 576/77, on the organization and administration of the Secondary and Higher Vocational and Technical education and in the Presidential Act 1304/77, on the Analytical Programs (Curricula) of Elementary education.

K.E.M.E. -which was founded to replace the Pedagogic Institute established by the Centre Union reform and abolished by the Junta- was entrusted with the study and research of educational problems of General education (Analytical Programmes, textbooks, methods of teaching etc). This measure, apart from partial objections,¹¹⁷ was considered as positive for the modernization of education. The Law on Technical Vocational education was

considered positive, although it had been strongly criticized. The main criticism referred to the fact that the Technical-vocational education was kept to lower level, without their graduates having any possibility of access to Higher education. It was considered that it would institutionalize the distinction between mental and manual work and aimed at safeguarding a lower specialized working force.

"By its notorious 'reforms' the Right Wing tried to give youth less knowledge on a lower level and away from the contemporary achievements of science and technology.... as much in quantity as in quality, just enough for the working people within a dependent economic development, which simply safeguards the cheap working force in a monopoly organized production".¹¹⁸

Critiques were even stronger of the insignificant and inessential changes made in the Analytical Programmes and textbooks through the presidential act 1304/77. Despite the introduction of two new subjects (Introduction to the Profession and Elements of the Democratic Regime) and some increase in Technological material, the Analytical Programmes (curricula) and the text-books kept their old-fashioned character. "We went backward instead of forward in two basic sectors, in the analytical programmes and textbooks."¹¹⁹ Instead of giving chances for problematization, cultivation of judgement and language books "underestimate the pupils' intelligence, overtax the memory with dead knowledge, they make propaganda, catechize, admonish and proselytize the children."¹²⁰

Another sector left untouched by the 1976 reform was

that of teachers' education and in-service training; this situation remained at the level of the 1950's. A consequence of this was the fact that the old-fashioned methods of teaching - the teacher sitting at his desk during the teaching process-, which condemned the pupil to passivity and left no room for active participation in the discovery of knowledge and the development of creative initiatives, continue to be applied in schools. With reference to this M.Eliou remarked:

"in last analysis, the 1976 reform measures were indirectly undermined as they were marked by a vital contradiction: between a tendency towards modernization and a refusal (not simply weakness) to pay the necessary price not only in expenditure, but also in the necessary revision of principles, institutions, of procedures, of educational policy, of practices of the whole educational mechanism and its function."¹²¹

And A. Kazamias, considering the deficiencies and retardations in modernization non-accidental and relating them to what we have seen as restricted democratization argued:

"our educational system continues to be unfree; it suffocates the student's spontaneity, obstructs his creative ability, overtaxes his memory and blunts his judgement. It uses the teacher as a vehicle to transmit 'canned knowledge'..... the officially approved manner is authority (authoritarianism and absolute knowledge) which cannot be challenged."¹²²

PA.SO.K. following the tactic of radical opposition, presented the existing situation in education in its own way and opposed its own vision to it and afterwards its own intermediate and direct targets.

"The Right Wing's political options and its philosophy are clearly imprinted on the anachronistic content, on the degraded level and structure of education. Private education and para-education replace the

indifference of the state but also they commercialise education, while producing unacceptable class discrimination. Universities surrendered to favouritism, nepotism and to the seizure of their places by Party followers... The Technical-Vocational education was established without preparation... it was degraded and did not create a competent staff, which the scientific application, technology and the professional specialization demands. Youth is pressed into pursuing a place in universities, through an unacceptable examination system, where anxiety and luck dominate" And a little below it remarked: "The educational reform, timid from the beginning and now disrupted by continuous distortions remained finally without content..... some stages were completely forgotten and the educational system was never dealt with as a whole."¹²³

PA.SO.K.'s answer was "a new education which abolishes the barriers... which creates the free-thinking and socially responsible citizen... which secures the wide participation of the popular strata, as well as the participation of the students in the planning of education and in the administration" (Declaration app.I) "Education is a matter of the social whole... private education is abolished." It characterised education as "the 'corner-stone' of change"¹²⁴ and promised the change in education through a new Institutional framework, which would embrace all the educational stages, would offer possibilities of social control and popular participation and equally would secure its qualitative upgrading.

The proposed measures for upgrading education started from the tehnico-material infrastructure¹²⁵, the Analytical programmes (curricula), textbooks and methods of teaching, which would break down barriers between the stages of education¹²⁶ through abolition of examinations, the introduction of stages in teachers' education¹²⁷ and

teachers' systematic in-service training, and finally dealt with the relationship between teachers and taught.¹²⁸

The specialized, detailed, elaborated views in PA.SO.K.'s governmental Declaration and the global way of confrontation of educational problems are impressive. This confirmed PA.SO.K.'s argument that education was the "cornerstone" of Change, likewise our argument that education was a key element of PA.SO.K.'s discourse.

The shifting of the content of studies from the study of the past, which prevailed in the programmes of general education, to the study of today's problems was also significant.¹²⁹

Also, as to the measures of upgrading of the education offered, provision was made for: Generalization of pre-school education in state kindergarten (article 99); care for children with specific needs (art.101); organic unification of general and technical and vocational Lyceums into an integrated multilateral Lyceum with multiple directions (article 102); the founding of new University schools within the frame of decentralization and regional development (art.105); the upgrading of Technical-Vocational education whose graduates were offered the option of altering the subject of their studies or continuing to respective schools of Higher education Institutions (art.106); the introduction of foreign language teaching into Primary education (article 107); the establishment of preparatory lessons for Higher education candidates so that an attack would be made on the extensive

para-education (art. 95) and the strengthening of the institution of remedial education with specific programmes against illiteracy; educational Television and function of free, open universities under the provision of Local self-government (art 108).

As to the **democratization of education**, provision was made for regional decentralization, participation of educationalists and pupils and social control through institutions of popular participation. "The government would plot out the general framework of educational policy based on democratic planning. The regional organs would realize this policy. Through the representatives of social agents, people would control this realization"(art.93) On this basis provision was made for the institutionalization of the National Council of Education (E.S.A.P)" through the participation of Local self-government, of the agents of employees, of the social and political agents, of the agents of the teachers (Primary and Secondary level), of university teachers and students" (art.93). Regional councils of education were to function at a regional level; agents of teachers and other social agents would participate in these and they would be related to the organs of democratic planning (art.93). Finally, representatives of local self government, of the parents' union and of the teachers' union would participate in the administration of the schools. The role of the students at the secondary and university-level education would be essential. Yet another measure, which would contribute to

the democratization of education as well as to the improvement of learning, was the abolition of the institution of the Inspectors and Supervisors (a rank over the Inspector A') and the establishment of the institution of the School Counsellor, without administrative jurisdiction responsible for the scientific and pedagogic guidance of the teachers. (article 102)

The critique made by the Communist Party of New Democracy's practices was almost identical to that of P.A.S.O.K. The only difference was in the emphasis given by the K.K.E. on fact that New Democracy's educational policy had revealed its class-determined character.

"New Democracy was interested in passing, through the Primary and Secondary school, a pedagogy of youth of such a quality, that would make them future supporters of the social status quo or, at least, its passive recipients, obstructing the development of their own abilities and putting under its own control their developing social consciousness."¹³⁰

The Communist Party having remained faithful to traditional marxist positions, considered education as an instrument of the bourgeois state having as its role the reproduction of existing relations of production and social relations, through the inculcation of the dominant ideology, and at the same time as a field, which prepared and safeguarded the specialized cheap work force necessary for the capitalist productive development.¹³⁰ Thus, the K.K.E. took care to "discover" and reveal to the people the secret targets of the dominant class, in each educational practice of New Democracy.¹³¹ Declarations concerning education were also included in the Communist

Party programme presented after the 10th Congress of the Party (May 1978). These measures were rather restricted enough; they were telegraphically brief and essentially were overlapped by PA.SO.K.'s declarations. These measures were:¹³²

- Modernization and democratization of the organization and the content of education and of the educational system. Safeguarding of equal opportunities for education of all working people.
- Modernization, especially of the organization and the content of Higher education.
- Modernization and extension of Vocational education.
- Increase of the expenditure allocated by the budget for education, for safeguarding the necessary technical material infrastructure and the scientifically prepared staff.
- Abolition of foreign and domestic private Institutions.
- Measures for the improvement of the conditions of life and work of the people of Letters and the Arts for free, progressive creation, for the cultivation of National and Popular Culture and for the right use of our spiritual heredity.

In the propositions formulated later in 1982 by its Central Committee for the 11th Congress other measures were also added: a 9-year educational period, the integrated multilateral Lyceum, compulsory pre-school education, a university-level education for all educators, the writing

of new textbooks, the application of new methods of teaching and the creation of new organs in organization and administration of all the stages of education, in which the participation of the teachers and other employees, parents, pupils and the Local self-government would be safeguarded.¹³³

In other words, the measures proposed by the K.K.E. more or less resembled those of PA.SO.K. and they even followed PA.SO.K.'s declarations. In our opinion, this reveals that in contrast to PA.SO.K, which considered education as the "cornerstone" of change, the K.K.E. put less significance on education, since it remained faithful to the classical marxist topographic schema of B/S and considered that change should be made first in the economic base and after as a reflection this would be extended to the superstructure. The following argument is characteristic:

"We are not sufficiently romantic to believe that these (educational) changes will succeed in our country under the bourgeois system... as the system remains unchanged... the educational ideology will be the Bourgeois ideology, the programmes and the books will express this ideology, the school will transmit the same ideology and will prepare the citizens needed by the dominant class."¹³⁴

Having said this, we can firstly observe that the three Parties as well (N.D., PA.SO.K., K.K.E.) articulated to their discourses for education the concepts of democratization and modernization; however, in and through the Parties' practices and the oppositions created between them, these concepts acquired different meaning.

PA.SO.K. put emphasis on the participation of social

agents (teachers, students, Local-selfgovernment etc.) in the administration, organization and planning of education (**new articulation between education and social agents**); the overthrow of "barriers" between the stages of education (abolition of entrance examinations) and discrimination (abolition of private education and para-education); the decentralization of education (regional schools and universities); reduction of the severe hierarchical structures and the abolition of the authoritarianism in the teacher-taught relationship (abolition of the institution of inspectors and the introduction of new methods of teaching). Through these proposals, PA.SO.K. added new dimensions, e.g. **socialization, decentralization, abolition of discrimination and authoritarianism** to the meaning of the concept of **democratization**, apart from those it had included in the N.D.'s discourse, and created new couplets of oppositions to it.

Through these oppositions the concept of democratization in N.D.'s educational discourse seemed to acquire the meaning of maintaining a distance between education and social agents; of the interposition of barriers to knowledge, especially for the pupils of the provinces and of the lower social strata; of the maintenance of the centralized character of education, of severe hierarchical structures and the authoritarianism in the teacher-taught relationship. In other words, through these oppositions were revealed the limits of the concept of democratization which it had acquired in N.D.'s

discourse (as free education, Demotic language, increase of the years of compulsory education).

Apart from the concept of democratization, PA.SO.K., however, very often used the term "popular" as well as "Popular education", "Popular school", "Education for the children of all the People" which were phrases that cropped up time after time in PA.SO.K.'s speeches and texts. We argue that this choice of PA.SO.K.'s was not accidental. All the bourgeois Parties (conservative and progressive) treated the question of education as "national". This connoted that education referred to the nation as a whole and things concerning education were "national". That is, they had articulated the national element to their educational discourses. Also, the conservative wing often strengthened the meaning of this concept with a "national religious" dimension relating the humanist ideal of ancient Greece to the model of Orthodox Christian belief and projecting it as the "fifth essence" of our national education. A recent and more characteristic example is the slogan "Greece-Greek-Christian" that the colonels projected. In this way justified the insistence of the school programme on outdated knowledge from the past, that is on the ancient Greek language, on imparting prudence, on books of edifying material and a refusal to study any contemporary social problems or to proceed to radical changes of the educational system.

In contrast, positioning "Greece" in the centre of its discourse and making an appeal to the "People",

PA.SO.K. articulated the "national" element to "popular" one and gave a new dimension to the question of education, which was considered henceforth to be "national-popular". This dimension of meaning created a new confrontation with the Right Wing, which meant PA.SO.K.'s shifting from the "ancient", the "past", the "dead", the "national-religious" to the "new" the "present", the "alive", the "popular".

However, the term "popular school" had been previously articulated in the Traditional Left's discourse (K.K.E.). It denoted there, basic education, that is, the lower level of education, which should be secured for the children of all the people. Thus, there was the danger that this articulation of the "popular" element in PA.SO.K.'s educational discourse might be related to a qualitative degeneration of education and PA.SO.K.'s "popular" school being branded as inferior. PA.SO.K. averted this danger by replacing the concept of "modernization", which it had firstly used, by the concept of "upgrading", which connoted a global qualitative improvement of education; the articulation of "popular" element to that of "upgrading" supported and secured the quality of PA.SO.K.'s "popular school". Through this re-articulation ("national", "popular", "upgrading") PA.SO.K., also succeeded in giving to the modernization of education a character which was centred both on the Hellenic and the popular, in opposition to the West-centrist direction of modernization in N.D.'s educational discourse.

Declaring that "we belong to the West" and having as

its primary target to hasten the Country into joining the E.E.C., N.D. aimed at lessening the distance which devided the educational situation in Greece from that of the E.E.C. countries. Thus, we could say that the modernization of education which N.D. attempted had had a "west-centrist" direction, it was an attempt to approach the educational modes of the West. That is, the meaning of modernization was enriched in this case with a dimension of Europeanism.

However, in PA.SO.K.'s educational discourse the concept of modernization or upgrading acquired a new dimension of meaning. It connoted an improvement of education at all the stages from the kindergarten to the higher education institutions. This included an amelioration of: the period of time (duration of studies), of the place (decentralization-regional universities), of the content (new Analytical Programmes and textbooks), of the means (technico-material infrastructure) and of the form (methods and learning process); that is, it acquired the meaning of a total and global improvement in the quality of education relying on the forces of the People-Nation.

The opposition of this meaning to that which it had acquired in N.D.'s discourse revealed the deficiencies and hence the limits of the modernization of education pursued through N.D.'s educational practices. Thus, the fragmentary character of this modernization became clear since the measures concerned only specific educational stages-mainly those of Secondary and middle and higher Technical-

Vocational education- and only in some of their sections. Pre-school education and university-level education remained almost untouched, as did the whole teaching-learning procedure. Besides, the timid and restricted character of modernization became clear since the modernizing changes and improvements projected by PA.SO.K.'s discourse which had already constituted the subject of N.D.'s modernizing practices mostly surpassed the meaning they had acquired through these practices. This permitted PA.SO.K.to continue speaking of a degraded and out-of-date education.

After the above presentation-analysis of the educational practices of the different Parties and the oppositions created, it becomes evident that: In New Democracy's discourse the element of education acquired the meaning of a restricted democratization which, eventhough it included the establishment of free education and the use of the demotic language and also the extension of the period of the compulsory education, as to the relationship between education-social agents still left the social agents isolated from educational procedures. The meaning of the element of education in N.D.'s discourse kept at the same time the centralism and the severe hierarchical structures in the organization, the existing obstacles and authoritarian relations in the learning procedure. Besides, it acquired the meaning of a modernization which was West-oriented and included the promotion of the Secondary and higher Technical-Vocational education and a turn from the theoretical to positive sciences, while leaving untouched

other sectors and grades of education.

In the Communist Party's discourse the element of education which was not central, acquired its meaning through the articulation of democratization and modernization, in opposition to N.D.'s practices and in general agreement to PA.SO.K.'s discourse, despite its opposed theoretical positions.

Finally, in PA.SO.K.'s discourse the element of education acquired the meaning of a **democratization**, which, in the articulation **education-social agents** and through **institutional mechanisms of popular participation and social control**, established relations of participation of social agents in the educational procedures, at the same time promoting decentralization and the abolition of the severe hierarchical structures in the organization, the abolition of existing obstacles and of the authoritarian relations in the learning procedure. Besides, this element of education acquired the meaning of an **upgrading**, which was oriented Hellenic-Popular direction and included measures of all the sectors and all the grades from the technico-material infrastructure to the classroom climate and from the Kindergarten to the university. In other words, it acquired the meaning of a **democratic, popular-participatory, decentralised, globally-upgraded and Hellenocentric education**.

Democracy — Popular Participation — Hellenocentrism — Decentralization — Upgrading

TABLE II

GRAPHIC TABLE OF ARTICULATION OF THE KEY ELEMENTS
WITHIN PA.SO.K.'s DISCOURSE (1974-1981)

SOCIAL SYNTHESIS

Multifarious, non privileged, E.L.E. =/= Class representation
Equal social alliance =/= Alliance under working class hegemony
People (democratic and =/= Dominant class (conservative and
progressive forces) authoritarian establishment)

ORGANIZATION

Self-organization =/= Organization from above
Party of principles recognising =/= Personalised or vanguard
the role of the leader of working class
Party self-reliant & autonomous =/= Joining of Party & state
in relation to state & society =/= Party above the society
Democratic and two-directional =/= Clientelist relations
function =/= Centralized & one-directional function
Party beside & together =/= Dependence of the m.m. on the Party
with the mass movements =/= Party mediator between state & m.m.

TACTICS

Opposition "vision" - "existing" =/= "attainable" - "existing"
=/= Projection of the leader
Small steps related to =/= Everything or nothing
strategic targets =/= Disconnected, limited alterations
Speed which averts absorption =/= Speed which allows
in the system absorption
Persuasion, consensus, acceptance, participation =/= imposition
Co-operation with the mass =/= Clientelist relations
movements =/= Hegemonic relations

SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION (CHANGE)

GREEK THIRD road to SOCIALISM =/= Existing Socialism
=/= Social Democracy
Multi Party system =/= One Party system (dictatorship of prolet.)
Democratic procedures =/= Authoritarian imposition
Democratic planning =/= Central planning
Decentralization =/= Over centralism
Socialization =/= Nationalization or Privatization
Related intermediate targets =/= Disconnected changes
Popular participation =/= Simple secure of electoral majority

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

"Greece belong to Greeks" =/= "We belong to the West"
Out of NATO and the E.E.C. =/= Within NATO, E.E.C. and
withdrawal of the US bases maintenance of the US bases
Hellenocentrist, multi-dimensional =/= West-oriented policy
foreign polity =/= East-oriented policy
Fighting alongside Cyprus =/= Standing (simply) by its side

POPULAR DOMINANCE

Power from the People, for the =/= ... IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE
People, WITH THE PEOPLE =/= ... by the VANGUARD PARTY
Upgrading of the representative Reinforcement of the execu-
institutions (Parliament, Local =/= tive power & degrading of
self-government, Trade unions) the representative instit.
New institutions of Popular =/= Pre-existed institutions only
participation & soc. control =/= One Party-Statism

SOCIAL LIBERATION

Abolition of exploitation & alienation =/= Silence & indifference
Abolition of the social =/= Fluctuating maintenance of the
inequalities social inequalities
Improvement of the quality =/= Strengthening of
of life consumerism
Cultural life & development based =/= ... based mainly on the
mainly on the National-Popular imitation of the
culture foreign models
Respect & protection of the =/= Lack of care & exploitation
environment of it

ECONOMY

MIXED: (state, private, social), =/= Privatization & strengthening
aiming at the socialization of the state action
of the means of production =/= Nationalization of the means
of production
Self-reliant economic development =/= Dependent & distorted
Shaking off economic dependence =/= Joining EEC, privileges for
(EEC, foreign investments, loans) foreign investments
Participation of social agents =/= Profit as motive to economic
in the productive process development
Dem. planning-Decentralization =/= Emphasis on central planning

STATE

Socialization of the means =/= State of the Party,
of power (upgrading represen- statization of society, only
tative institutions & new inst. representative institutions
of popular partic. & soc. control & clientelist relations
Simple proportional representation =/= Other systems
Decentralization & =/= Over-centralism & Party control
technocratic support
Lessening of bureaucratic and =/= bureaucratic system and severe
hierarchical structures hierarchical structures
Hellenization & no-seizure of the =/= Superficial purging and
state mechanism by the Party seizure of the state by
members Party members
Democratic planning for economic, =/= Liberalism
social & cultural development =/= Central planning
Socialization of the state enter- =/= Big capital privileges
prises & the key sectors of econ. =/= Statization of economy
Fair re-distribution of the =/= Capitalist accumulation and
national product sharpening inequalities
National Health System, social =/= Commercialization of the
security, housing for all social welfare
Democratization & upgrading =/= Authoritarian & degraded
of education education
Abolition of political, social =/= Discrimination of the citi-
and gender discrimination zens in 1st & 2nd category
Upgrading of the cultural life, =/= Cultural identity matter of
maintenance of the cul. identity private initiative and state
& democratization of mass media control on mass media
Protection & upgrading of the =/= Exploitation & destruction
environment on the altar of profit

EDUCATION

Rearticulation education-society =/= Detached from society,
(through new institutions) =/= Instrument of the state
Decentralised - Democratic =/= Centralised, authoritarian
(without barriers & auth. relat.) & minimally democratic
Upgraded and modern =/= Degraded and out-of-date
Hellenocentrist =/= West-centrist or East-centrist

2. "Vertical" articulation of the key elements within PA.SO.K.'s discourse

In the graphic table II of "vertical" articulation of the key elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse we concentrated on the elements analysed in the previous part of our study, with almost all the couplets of oppositions created by their confrontation to the discourse of the other Parties (N.D. and K.K.E.) during the period 1974-81. E.g. at the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE we have the couplets of oppositions:

- "Greece belongs to Greeks" \neq "We belong to the West"
- Out of NATO and the E.E.C. \neq Within NATO, E.E.C. and withdrawal of the U.S bases maintenance of the U.S. bases
- Hellenocentrist, multi- \neq West-oriented policy dimensional foreign policy \neq East-oriented policy
- Fighting alongside Cyprus \neq Standing (simply) by its side

The first part of each couplet of opposition, e.g. "Greece belongs to Greeks" constitutes a sub-element of the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE within PA.SO.K.'s discourse, or a partial practice (since each element can also considered to be -from another point of view- as a specific discourse or practice); while the second part of this couplet of opposition, that is, "We belong to the

West" constitutes a sub-element of the same element within N.D.'s discourse. Thus, we can argue that all these partial practices or sub-elements of the first part of the couplets of oppositions with the meaning they acquire through the opposed sub-elements of the other discourses give, in this phase of articulation ("horizontal"), the meaning of the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE within PA.SO.K.'s discourse in this period.

This meaning becomes to some extent complete through the examination of the relations created between the elements and sub-elements of the same discourse, that is, through the presentation of their "vertical" articulation. Thus, we approach the intelligibility of the whole PA.SO.K.'s discourse in this period.

Relating the partial practices/sub-elements with arrows, we tried to give a graphic presentation precisely of the articulation of elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse.

From the examination of the key elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse it emerged that some concepts penetrated almost all its elements. These concepts, we can say, express the main dimensions of meaning that the key elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse acquired in and through their articulation to it. We have marked them and used a specific colour for each, in order to show the articulation of the sub-elements through each of these concepts using coloured arrows. Thus, we used a blue arrow for the articulation of the sub-elements which are related to the concept of **Democracy**, red for the concept of **Popular**

participation, green for the concept of Hellenocentrism, black for the concept of Decentralization and yellow for the concept of Upgrading. These concepts were called central concepts for methodological reasons only.

From an initial observation of this graphic table we can realise that the first place, as to the great number of arrows, is shared between the blue and red. That is, we could say that the concepts which dominate in the articulation of the elements in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, are Democracy and Popular participation. A second realization is that the elements SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION and STATE concentrate the great number of arrows and this, in its turn, shows that these elements can be considered as pre-eminently the key elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse.

Thus, we will start a more systematic scrutiny and study of this table from the element SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION, which seems to be articulated to all the other elements with the arrows of all the colours. Indeed, "the Greek road to socialism", which is PA.SO.K.'s great vision, its pre-eminently strategic target, the great CHANGE, through its oppositions to the model of existing Socialism as much as to that of Social Democracy, included in its meaning as already seen: D e m o c r a c y , since it accepted the democratic procedures of transition with parliamentarism and polyphony; direct and active P o p u - l a r p a r t i c i p a t i o n in this procedure, keeping a distance from both the Party-statism of the existing Socialism and from the simple parliamentary representation

of social democracy; H e l l e n o c e n t r i s m, placing emphasis on respect for the peculiarities of Greek social formation, on shaking off every kind of dependence and rejecting any imitation of the foreign models without criticism; as well as social justice, the effacement of alienation and exploitation of human being by human being and in general the social liberation as the pre-eminent characteristic of socialism, the realization of which is related to D e c e n t r a l i z a t i o n as much as to U p g r a d i n g.

"The Greek road to socialism" by its articulation, shown in the graphic table to the sub-elements of SOCIAL SYNTHESIS, now widens its meaning through the meaning of the agent, which would realize the great CHANGE, that is, the People, the equivalent social alliance of the progressive forces of the non-privileged Greek people, the E.L.E. On the other hand, the element of SOCIAL SYNTHESIS being articulated to the Greek road to socialism, widens and reinforces its meaning, since it is recognised as the agent of the great CHANGE. PA.SO.K. itself very frequently projected this articulation of agent-vision. "The people is determined to take power itself in its hands and to lead the country towards the great CHANGE."¹³² This is similar to the two-way strengthening of meaning of this sub element - Greek road to socialism - and the sub- elements of ORGANIZATION during their articulation, which (as shown in the graphic table) is realised through the arrows of Democracy. This shows that in the Greek road to socialism

the role of the Party is governed by the principles of democracy and democratic procedures. Thus, through this articulation, the meaning of Democracy is widened, since the relations between Party-vision appear to be democratic. Thus, we could say that in PA.SO.K.'s case the saying: "The aim sacrifices the means" does not apply. People and PA.SO.K. consider progress towards CHANGE only through democratic steps.

The articulation of the sub-element we are examining- the Greek road to Socialism- to the sub-elements of TACTICS reinforces its previous meaning even further, elucidating more completely the democratic character of transition, since persuasion, consensus, co-operation with the other mass movements the proper rhythm and the small steps are projected. The frontal clash of EVERYTHING OR NOTHING, hegemonic relations, authoritarian and violent imposition as well as the degenerative phenomena of clientelist relations and of limited unconnected, tinkering, which are absorbed by the system, are excluded. Vice-versa, the meaning of TACTICS and especially of the sub-element "opposition vision/existing" is strengthened by its direct articulation to "the Greek road to socialism", which elucidates the vision more completely.

The articulation of "the Greek road to socialism" to the sub-elements of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, as the graphic table shows, occurs with the arrows of Hellenocentrism. Thus, on the one hand, the Hellenocentric character of the third road to Socialism is reinforced, since it is related

directly to NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, to shaking off dependence on both East and West at the political, economic and cultural levels; and, on the other hand, the meaning of National independence is widened and strengthened, since it is articulated to a purely Greek road to Socialism; thus, "flesh and bones" are given to the saying "Greek belongs to Greeks".

As we can see in the graphic table, "the Greek third road to Socialism" is also articulated to the sub-elements of POPULAR DOMINANCE mainly through the arrows of Democracy and Popular participation. This articulation comes exactly to strengthen still more the democratic and participant dimension of the meaning of the "Greek road to socialism". Simultaneously, the meaning of POPULAR DOMINANCE is strengthened since it is related indirectly to the Hellenocentric dimension of meaning of the third road and directly to its participatory and democratic dimension.

The sub-elements of SOCIAL LIBERATION are articulated to "the Greek third road", as the graphic table shows, mainly through the arrows of Upgrading, Popular Participation and Democracy. Thus, the meaning of the "Greek third road to Socialism" acquires a new dimension, that of the heightening of the value "human being" of the enhancement of his/her relationship to others (without alienation, without exploitation, without inequalities) and of his/her relationship to the environment. On the other hand, through this articulation the meaning of SOCIAL LIBERATION acquires the dimension of democratic,

Hellenocentric and participatory, which the meaning of the "Greek third road to Socialism" had included. In other words, the element of SOCIAL LIBERATION -through its articulation to the "Greek third road to Socialism"- also acquires the meaning of progressive realization through democratic procedures and through the participation of the interested people itself.

"The Greek third road to Socialism" is also articulated to the sub-elements of ECONOMY and to a certain extent to the arrows of all the colours. The co-existence of the state, private and social sector within the economy is related to and widens the democratic and participatory character of the Greek road; autonomous economic development and shaking off dependence at the economic level are related to and strengthen the Hellenocentric character; participation also of the employees and social agents in the whole economic process and democratic planning are related to and strengthen even more the participatory but also the democratic character of "the Greek third road to Socialism", while, at the same time, they add a new dimension to it, that of decentralization- since democratic planning, to which it is directly articulated, has got first of all a decentralized meaning. Simultaneously and vice-versa, the element of Economy through this articulation widens and strengthens its Hellenocentric, participatory and democratic dimension of meaning.

The articulation of the "Greek third road to

Socialism" to the sub-elements of STATE, as the graphic table shows, presents a particular concentration and variety of arrows. Alternatively, as we have already pointed out, the elements SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION and STATE appear in this table as the pre-eminently key elements of discourse and, as the socialist transformation, the state in the same way seems to be articulated to all the other elements of the discourse with the arrows of all the colours. This may be understood as an emphasis on the important and significant role which these two elements have had in PA.SO.K.'s discourse: SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION as pre-eminently the vision of the great CHANGE and the STATE as an ensemble of Institutions and functions through which PA.SO.K. aims at proceeding to the great CHANGE. Thus, we can see that the socialization of the state is related to and strengthens the participatory character of the third road; the co-existence of upgraded institutions of democratic representation with institutions of popular participation and social control is related to its democratic and participatory dimension, which it also strengthens, while at the same time it also reinforces the dimension of upgrading, which is here widened through the meaning of the improvement of the representative institutions; simple proportional representation, as a permanent electoral system, being articulating to the "third road" widens even more its democratic character through the dimension of the establishment of a more just and democratic electoral system; decentralization, form of

organisation and administration of the state and democratic planning, as presupposition of the economic, social and cultural function of the state being articulated to the "third road to Socialism", widen the dimension of decentralization in the fields of social and cultural activity and confirm once again its democratic and participatory character. It is also clear that the democratic and decentralised character of the "third road to socialism" is strengthened through its articulation to the sub-element "lessening of bureaucracy and hierarchical structures": Hellenization and purging the state mechanism of the system of "Favouring" Party members (described as "departyzation") come through their articulation to add a new dimension to the Hellenocentrism of the "third road", that of ridding the state mechanisms of elements friendly to foreign centres and also to adding another dimension of democratization, that of the democratic relations between Party and state (de-Partyzation in the sense of purging the state mechanisms of the Party followers). The socialization of the Public enterprises of Common welfare (D.E.K.O.) and of key sectors of economy and the fair redistribution of the National Product, as economic functions of the state, being articulated to the "Greek third road to Socialism", strengthen the economic dimension of social participation, as socialization of the means of production, and adds the dimension of economic democracy (social justice) to the democratic character of the "third road". The social function of the state by the forms

presented in the table (National Health system, social security, housing, democratic and upgraded education, effacement of discrimination) being articulated to the "third road" through the arrow of democratization and upgrading mainly widens its democratic character, lending it new dimensions of meaning (social, freedom of access to education, equality of the sexes) and upgrading (improvement of the quality and conditions of life); upgrading, finally, of cultural life with care for maintenance of Greek cultural identity and the protection and upgrading of the environment widen and implement through their articulation the dimension of upgrading and also of Hellenocentrism in the "Greek third road to Socialism". Inversely, the element of STATE, through the articulation of its sub-elements to the "Greek third road to Socialism" strengthens and widens its meaning because of the direct relation with the strategic vision of the great CHANGE equally because of the reinforcing and widening of its democratic and participatory dimension, its Hellenocentrism, and the dimension of upgrading of its partial elements.

The "Greek third road to Socialism" is articulated, as we can see in the graphic table, to education also through the arrows of all the colours. This shows their multiple relation and confirms, to some extent, PA.SO.K.'s argument that education is the cornerstone of CHANGE. Socialized and decentralized education, being articulated to the "third road" widens its social-participatory and decentralized dimension in the field of education as well

in the sense of the regional organs of popular participation as well as with the meaning of the regional universities. Democratic, upgraded and Hellenocentric education, through its articulation to the "third road", adds new dimensions to democraticism, Hellenocentrism and to its upgraded dimension. The democratic dimension of the "third road" is reinforced with the meaning of the abolition of barriers and obstacles to education and with the formulation of democratic interpersonal relations between teachers and taught and further, with the formulation of democratic way and attitudes of life. The Hellenocentric character is strengthened mainly due to the dimension of support of Greek values and Greek models in the diachronic course of the People and Nation. And the upgraded dimension of the element of education is widened through the meaning of availability of a better quality of education, which would enable youth to tackle and solve contemporary problems.

On the other hand, EDUCATION, through this articulation, reinforces its significance revealing its contribution to the great CHANGE, while at the same time it adds to its social-participatory, decentralized, democratic, upgraded and Hellenocentrist character, new dimensions, which acquire the above dimensions of meaning through their articulation to the respective characteristics of "the Greek road to Socialism". For example, the social participatory character of education is widened as it is articulated through the meaning of

socialization of the means of production and the means of power which are included in the meaning of the social participatory character of the "Greek road to socialism".

Through this rather detailed analysis of the articulation of one sub-element to the other elements and subelements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse, on the one hand, we have tried to present a way of reading of the graphic table of articulation of the key elements within PA.SO.K.'s discourse and, on the other hand, to understand how through this articulation the construction of the meaning of the partial elements -and consequently of the discourse as a whole- is implemented thus at the same time achieving a completer understanding of this.

However, the continuation of this study following the above way, apart from taking greater length would also be boring for the reader through the overlapping and repetitions which it would necessitate. For this reason we will proceed to a more general reading of the graphic table following the articulation of the elements as a whole, through the five central concepts, which we have marked out.

Thus, we observe that the arrows of the concept of **Democracy** penetrate or articulate all the elements and in a somewhat equal distribution. This means that all the elements have already acquired a meaning of democracy through their oppositions to the elements of the other discourses. However, what happens now to the "vertical" articulation of elements?

In the element of SOCIAL SYNTHESIS, during the horizontal articulation, that is, its opposition to the social synthesis of the other Parties and its rearticulation to the social synthesis of the Greek population in this conjuncture (events), the concept of Democracy had acquired the meaning of the democratic pre-history of the popular forces, which constituted PA.SO.K.'s social synthesis (E.A.M. Resistance, Unyielding Struggles, resistance against dictatorship), as well as the meaning of the equivalent alliance of the popular forces, E.L.E. without having recognised the hegemony of a class or fraction of it over the others. Thus, the concept of Democracy had acquired these two dimensions in the element of social synthesis.

In the element of ORGANIZATION, according to the above procedure, the concept of democracy had acquired the meaning of the two-way, democratic function of the movement according to some principles and not on the basis of clientelist relations or of a one-way imposition of opinions from above. It had also acquired the meaning of democratic co-operation with the other mass movements, in opposition to relations of dependence or hegemonic relations pursued by the other Parties. In other words, the concept of Democracy had acquired here two other dimensions. Thus, during the articulation of SOCIAL SYNTHESIS to ORGANIZATION within PA.SO.K.'s discourse, the four other dimensions of meaning of the concept of Democracy are articulated, are mutually reinforced and

widened, since simultaneously the concept of Democracy is widened thus acquiring four dimensions: participation in democratic struggles, alliance on equal terms; democratic procedures, democratic co-operation.

Proceeding in this way in the study of articulation of elements in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, we understand that it is enough to conceive the multi-dimensional meaning, which the five central concepts in PA.SO.K.'s discourse acquired, to also understand the reinforced and widened meaning which each element acquired as well as the whole discourse in general.

Thus, continuing the study of the concept of Democracy, we realise that through its articulation to TACTICS it acquires the meaning of persuasion and social consensus; during its articulation to SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION the already existing dimension of democratic procedures is reinforced, widened, however, beyond the limits of the Party and embracing the social formation as a whole. The concept of Democracy is enriched with a new dimension of democratic planning (that is, of the examination and planning solutions of the problems starting from the social base and the Geographic region); through its articulation to NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE and especially with the sub-element "multi-dimensional foreign policy", it acquires another dimension of meaning of democratic and equal relations with all the states of the international community. The concept of Democracy acquires its pre-eminently political dimension, that of popular

dominance, through its expression of the three stages of democracy (Parliament, Local self - government, Trade Unionism), by its articulation to POPULAR DOMINANCE; besides, being articulated to SOCIAL LIBERATION it acquires the meaning of democratic social relations through effacement of social inequalities, of alienation and exploitation; in its articulation to ECONOMY it acquires the dimension of the democratic and competitive co-existence of the state, private and social sectors of the economy and simultaneously, the dimension of democratic planning in its economic aspect is reinforced; through its articulation to STATE the political dimension of meaning is elucidated and made concrete, while simultaneously, it is reinforced through the establishment of simple proportional representation as the permanent electoral system. It is further widened through the dimension of lessening bureaucracy and hierarchical structures. The social and cultural facets are added to the dimension of democratic planning and finally the social, economic and cultural dimensions of the concept are elucidated and made concrete through the actual economic, social and cultural function of the state, which in PA.SO.K.'s discourse seems to pursue the effacement of economic, social political and cultural inequalities and discriminations. Finally, through its articulation to EDUCATION the social dimension of the concept of Democracy is further elucidated, taking on the meaning of democratic interpersonal relations and the meaning of the abolition of obstacles to free education

access.

In the two-way relation of articulation this greatly widened and enriched meaning of the concept of Democracy comes to widen and similarly enhance the meaning of the democratic character of each element of the discourse at the same time colouring the whole of PA.SO.K.'s discourse also.

The concept of **Popular Participation** in the element of SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION had acquired, during the "horizontal" articulation, the meaning of the People's participation in decision-making, in the actualization and control, either directly through the democratic planning, or indirectly through popular representation (Socialization, worker's control, organs of popular participation), in opposition to the practice of the electoral right only in fixed periods of time in a Parliamentary Democracy, or to exercising Power basically by the "Vanguard Party" in existing socialism.

Through its articulation to SOCIAL SYNTHESIS this concept clarifies to some extent its popular dimension, excluding the dominant class, the authoritarian and the conservative establishment or the hegemony of the working class, to which it was opposed. Being articulated to ORGANIZATION and especially to its sub-elements "self-organization" and "...two-way function" of the party organs, the concept of Popular participation takes on the meaning of a spontaneous participation in Party decision -making. The dimension of participation is also

strengthened through the articulation of this concept to TACTICS, since the small steps to transition are defined as mature demands of the popular movement and their actualization, according to PA.SO.K.'s tactic, is based on consensus and on their active support by the people. Through its articulation to NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE its popular dimension acquires a new aspect; the People is recognised as Lord of its place, its present and future depends on itself and not on foreign decisions. The previous meaning of the concept, that it had acquired in the element SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION is further elucidated and consolidated through its articulation to POPULAR DOMINANCE, since it is explicitly confirmed that Power is exercised WITH THE PEOPLE through the new institutions of Popular participation and social control. We can see the concept acquiring a new dimension, that of the participation of the achievements of popular culture in cultural life and the development of the country through its articulation to SOCIALIST LIBERATION. Being articulated to ECONOMY, the economic dimension of the meaning of the concept of Popular participation is strengthened and elucidated, through the participation of employees and social agents at all stages of the economic process, through participation in the democratic planning of economic development, through the development of the social sector of the economy and through the perspective of socialization of the means of production. Through its articulation to STATE all the dimensions of its meaning

are elucidated and made concrete: the political, since, through the new institutions and the socialization of the state, the way opens to socialization of the means of power; the economic, since, through the socialization of the Public Enterprises of common welfare (D.E.K.O.) and of the key sectors of the economy, through Worker's control and the supervisory councils, ways are opened to socialization of the means of production; the social, since through democratic planning for economic and social development, the way was opened to the participation of the People in the effacement of inequalities and discrimination, that is, in the practice of social justice; the cultural, since, the maintenance of cultural identity connoted that the characteristics of the popular culture should also be included in it. Finally, through its articulation to EDUCATION, the meaning of the concept of Popular Participation acquired an additional dimension, that of participation in the decisions-making concerning education.

The concept of **Hellenocentrism** had acquired, within the element NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE and through the "horizontal" articulation,¹³⁶ the meaning of shaking off every kind of dependence whether political, economic, cultural and the meaning that the Greek people should decide themselves the course of their country, outside any political or economic bloc. Now, through its articulation to SOCIAL SYNTHESIS it takes on the meaning of "Populocentrism", since the meaning of "Greeks" is almost identified with the meaning of People, in P.A.S.O.K.'s

discourse, being opposed to the economic oligarchy and the conservative establishment which are considered to be identified with foreign interests. This meaning is indirectly strengthened through the articulation of the analysed concept to ORGANIZATION, since people was self-organised in the Party and consequently the Party is that of the Greek People. In its articulation to TACTICS and especially to the sub-elements of the opposition "vision/existing" and the oppositions to the fragmentary steps of Social Democracy, the dimensions of the Greek character of the vision of socialism and the Greek character of the course of transition towards socialism are added. These dimensions of the concept are elucidated and reinforced as it is articulated to SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION and especially to the subelement "the Greek Third road to socialism". The further strengthening and widening of the meaning of Hellenocentrism became evident during the examination of the articulation of exactly this sub-element. For this reason, here we will complete our analysis, giving emphasis to the widening of meaning of Hellenocentrism as to the Economic and social dimension, through self-reliant economic and social development; to the elucidation of the political dimension, through the Hellenization of the state and its cultural dimension, through the emphasis on the Hellenic cultural identity and the dimension it acquired with the Hellenization of Education in the form of the right use of the Hellenic values and Greek models.

The concept Decentralization, which we could say plays more generally a complementary role in strengthening the concepts of Democracy and Popular participation, became evident in the element of SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION, in opposition to the over-centralism which characterised the model of existing Socialism as well as the model of organization of the Greek social formation under the aegis of the Right Wing. Its meaning was widened through its articulation to democratic planning, in the elements ECONOMY and STATE, for economic, social and cultural development, acquiring, apart from the geographic, economic, social and cultural dimensions. The meaning of the concept was also widened through its articulation to POPULAR DOMINANCE and especially to the sub-element of strengthening the institution of Local self-government in the form of decentralization of resources and jurisdictions. The dimension of decentralization of jurisdictions was also strengthened by lessening bureaucracy and the hierarchical structures in the STATE, and, finally, the concept of decentralization acquired a new dimension through its articulation to EDUCATION by the establishment of Regional organs of administration and the creation of Regional Units at Higher and University level education; that is, it also acquired the dimension of the decentralization of education.

The concept of **Upgrading** which, as we have seen, replaced in P.A.S.O.K.'s discourse the concept of Modernization in New Democracy's discourse, became evident

in EDUCATION in the sense of a global improvement of the level, the quality and kind of education given largely according to Greek values and Greek models, in opposition to the fragmentary, non-coordinated and ineffective practice of New Democracy of making the Greek educational system able to approach those of West European countries. Thus, the concept of Upgrading acquired three dimensions: of reaching higher levels of improvement, of its global development and of its basing itself mainly on Greek foundations. Through its articulation to SOCIAL SYNTHESIS, it acquired the meaning of overstepping the specific interests and contests of the partial social strata, categories and fractions, which together constituted PA.SO.K.'s social synthesis, and their rising to National Popular Unity (E.L.E.); that is, overstepping of the economistic, of guilds and shortsighted contests in favour of the common vision of the Great CHANGE. In other words, it took the dimension of a total reshaping and improvement of the identity of the agent of Change. This dimension was strengthened through the articulation of the concept to ORGANIZATION, where it also took the meaning of a new, improved Party model, self-reliant and autonomous in relation to State and society. This concept acquired a new widening of its political dimension of meaning through its articulation to POPULAR DOMINANCE and especially to the sub-element "upgrading of the representative institutions", where it took the meaning of an augmentation of the role and jurisdiction of Parliament, of the

Organizations of Local Self-government (O.T.A.) and of the Trade Union movement. In its articulation to SOCIAL LIBERATION it acquired a new dimension of meaning that of the improvement of the quality of life by the abolition of inequalities, of alienation and exploitation, by cultural development and the redefinition of the relationship between human beings and the natural environment. Being articulated to ECONOMY it took the dimension of improvement of the economic process through balanced and self-reliant economic development, which was equal in all its parts, the meaning of which had been constructed in opposition to the distorted and unequal, dependent development of the past. Through its articulation to STATE, the meaning of the concept as to the dimension of improvement: of the representative institutions, of the form of organization and of the functions (economic, social and cultural) was elucidated and made more concrete.

These five central concepts of PA.SO.K.'s discourse, (Democracy, Popular participation, Hellenocentrism, Decentralization and Upgrading), through their articulation to the partial elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse, were also articulated between them, mutually widening and enriching their meaning, while they widened and reinforced the meaning of each element simultaneously. No dimension or aspect of these meanings showed opposition or clashed with any other, because no element was presented in any dimension of its meaning in such a way as to come into opposition or clash with any of these central

concepts. Thus, the vision of the socialist Transformation with the model of the Greek Third road, the great CHANGE is articulated harmoniously to the other strategic targets of National Independence, Popular Dominance and Social Liberation; to the identity which PA.SO.K.'s social synthesis acquires, to the model of the Party and to tactics which it formulates; to autonomous economic development (mixed economy, emphasis on the social sector); to a released from dependence state being renewed as to: the form of representation (upgraded and socialized), the form of organization (decentralized, less bureaucratic, with social control and democratic planning) and its various functions; and finally to a socialized, democratic education.

The harmonious articulation between the elements becomes successful through the concepts that we have remarked -Democracy, Hellenocentrism, Popular participation and Upgrading-, which meet as dimensions of meaning of the partial elements of the discourse, or in terms of a multi- democratic, Hellenocentric, popular participatory, decentralised and upgraded discursive practice. These five meanings operated as channels of carrying and acquiring meaning simultaneously within the different elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse, thus creating a unity between the elements and giving to the discourse of this period coherence and dynamism, the dynamism of contest and finally the attainment of hegemony.

3. First remarks on the relations between Economy, State and Education

However at this point we will stay a little more in order to examine the way through which the relationship between state, economy and education is shaped through their articulation as elements within PA.SO.K.'s discourse in the concrete period of time between 1974 to 1981.

As has been pointed out, a great amount of arrows of all colours has been concentrated in the state element and this was understood as characteristic of the significance of this element in PA.SO.K.'s discourse. It also became clear, as the study developed, that the dimensions of meanings which these central concepts (Democracy, Popular participation, Hellenocentrism, Decentraliation, Upgrading) acquired during their articulation to the other elements and especially to strategies in their articulation to state, were elucidated and made concrete as specialised practices. For example, as is evident in the graphic table, the upgrading of the institutions of representation and the institutions of Popular participation and social control take their general meaning as sub-elements of Popular Dominance. However, they are elucidated and become concrete as specific practices in the form representation of the state.¹³⁷ The same happens with democratic planning, where, as sub-element of the Socialist transformation, it acquires

a more general meaning, while as sub-element of the state, it is elucidated and becomes concrete as: the five-year programme of economic, social and cultural development, which is shaped through democratic procedures, starting from organs of participation at local level and proceeding through the same procedure to the central level.

This, from another point of view, means that in PA.SO.K.'s discourse the state appears to have an increased role in the realization of the great social CHANGE. Indeed, we see that the state in PA.SO.K.'s discourse is articulated to economy not only because, as State Sector, it participates in the model of the mixed economy, which PA.SO.K. accepts, but also, because through the relevant state practices the following will be realised: the self-reliant economic development, the shaking off of economic dependence (either no-joining or disengagement from the E.E.C., setting conditions for the foreign investment, external loans), the participation of the employees and social agents in all the phases of the economic process and the democratically (socially) programmed economic development. In other words, it seems as if the economy became part of the state function. The private sector of the economy should develop its initiative and activity within the framework set out by the state, either by shaking off economic dependence, or by democratic planning, or even by autonomous economic development.

The dependence of education on the state seems to be

even greater, since the abolition of the private education was aimed at all stages and education was recognized as the state's concern: "Education is a matter for all the people, the care for education is a matter of the state."¹³⁸ Thus, the state decided not only about the form, organization and role of education, but also about WHAT should be taught (Analytical Programmes and books standardised), the WHERE and WHEN it would be taught (founding of schools, time-tables) and even the HOW it should be taught (Methods of teaching). Thus, the first impression is that, in and through PA.SO.K.'s articulatory practices, the state became omnipotent and the economy and education, to an even greater extent, depended on it. However, a more intensive study would lead us to another kind of conclusion. There is something which tends to reverse this first impression. And this is the Popular participation, the Socialization; that is, the new relations which were formulated, in and through PA.SO.K.'s articulatory practices, between each of the elements "state, economy, education" and the social agents (representatives of employees, trade union organizations, local self - government, professional organizations, parents' associations, students' union organizations etc. or direct popular participation through popular assemblies etc.).

The State, in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, is different from that which appears in New Democracy's discourse, or in the Communist Party's. The form of representation is not only based on representative Institutions, but also on

institutions of Popular participation and social control. The state does not appear any more as an instrument, or mechanism, or subject outside and above society but it is connected steadily and permanently to it through the new institutions. That is, channels of stable, direct, continuous and two-way communication between state and society are created; it is exactly this, which we have called **socialization of the state**. And it is not only the form of representation which changes, but also the form of organization changes as well. Lessening of bureaucracy and hierarchical structures, **Hellenization** and "departyzation", or purging the state of party followers, **democratic planning** and **decentralization** are the new characteristics of the organization and administration of the state in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, which transform the previous form of organization which had resulted from New Democracy's practices or the form of organization resulting from the Communist Party's discourse. Two more characteristics are added to these: the increase of technocratic support and the social control. The socialization of the state is reinforced through this last one and the change in the organization is harmonised with the change in the form of the state representation.

On the other hand, the identity of the economy also, in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, is different from that of New Democracy and the Communist Party. Besides, it is not only the projection of autonomous economic development and the shaking off of economic dependence, which makes it

different, as opposed to the distorted and dependent economic development, to which the Right Wing practices had led; it is the new characteristics which are added to the identity of the economy: the participation of the employees and the social agents in all the phases of the economic procedure (Socialization, worker's control), the development of the social sector of the economy (enterprises with a popular base, rural-industrial associations etc.) and democratic (social) planning. In other words, it is the new relations which are formulated between the economy and social agents, **the socialization of the economy**, which gives a significant different identity of the economy within PA.SO.K.'s discourse.

However, Education also presents a changed identity within PA.SO.K.'s discourse. And it is not only the concepts of Democracy, Hellenocentrism, Decentralization, Upgrading with the rich and multi-dimensional meaning acquired during their articulation to PA.SO.K.'s discourse that signified the change in the identity of education; it is also the **socialization of Education**, the new relation between Education and social agents, through the institutions of popular participation, from the smallest school unit to the Ministry of Education, which came to create the new identity of education.

Thus, we find out that in and through PA.SO.K.'s discourse, the state, the economy and education acquired new identities and that, apart from the other common characteristics (Democracy, Hellenocentrism,

Decentralization, Upgrading) which they obtained, there was a totally new one, that of Popular Participation (of socialization, which had not existed in any of the previous discourses), which provoked the pre-eminent change, in our opinion.

The continual institutionalized presence of the social agents within the state, the Economy and education we consider were what transformed also the relations between them. Because in the extreme case, where this presence of the social agents would take on such an extent and form, so as to secure the total control over the state, economy and education (that is in the case of total socialization of the means of production and power, which is PA.SO.K.'s strategic vision), it does not make any sense to refer to autonomy from or dependence on one of these elements.

But this extreme case is a vision which may never be realised. How then do their relations appear to be formulated during the process?

Having said this, it becomes clear that the transformation of the relations between them is related to the transformation of their identities and the transformation of the latter is mainly related to the extent and degree of their socialization, which depends on concrete articulatory practices having to do with the institutions of popular participation and social control.

On the other hand, PA.SO.K. argues that the steps of the process, apart from the fact that they should be

enlisted within the strategic targets, should also be extended to all levels. This does not mean that socialization will be done first e.g. in the economy and after in the state or education or vice-versa, but it does mean that the establishment of the new institutions of popular participation, socialization, social control etc. will proceed simultaneously. However, since the realization of the steps of change will not be imposed from above, but will be based on the consensus, acceptance and the participation of the People, it is possible that the steps may be bigger or quicker in one field and smaller or slower in the other. For example, a wider consensus and acceptance may be achieved for socialization in education and only restricted ones for socialization in the economy or vice-versa.

Thus, we can say that the degree of change of the identity of the state, the economy and education would depend on the extent to which P.A.S.O.K.'s partial practices, in their confrontation within the respective opposed practices in the field of antagonism within the conjuncture, will secure wider social consensus. We can also argue that, in the course of transition, the degree of autonomy between the state, economy and education will become greater to the extent that the presence of the social agents within these fields will be reinforced; insofar as, that is, the extent of Popular participation and Social control are widened and their responsibilities and jurisdictions increased.

This remark for the role of the social agents ¹³⁹ has also another dimension. It reveals the significance of the articulatory practices, which appear not as given or pre-determined but as formulated in the field of antagonism and within the conjuncture as a result of confrontation and articulation. Thus, the argument for the existence of a determining centre or an underlining principle (economy, state, social class etc.) fails, as does the argument for the existence of organic or structural relations between the state and education, since neither their identity nor their relationship are determined and closed but they depend on conjunctural articulatory practices.

However, a chance will be given to us to speak of the relations between State and Education in a more complete and more concrete way in the next part of our study, when we will examine the formulation of these relations during the moment of the governmental period (1981-85) of PA.SO.K.'s discourse.

In this part of our study we have tried to construct the intelligibility of PA.SO.K.'s discourse during the period 1974-1981, more exhaustively mapping out as far as possible the meaning of its key elements, the formulation of the couplets of the opposed concepts within the conjuncture, the articulation of one element to the other and their changing social, economic, political and cultural reference. We have also tried to construct a first approach which renders intelligible the relationship State-Economy-Education, as they were formulated in and through

PA.SO.K.'s discourse in this period.

Through the construction of this intelligibility a remark also cropped up, that PA.SO.K.'s discourse in this period acquired an unbreakable coherence, which gave it an intense dynamic and finally made it able to dichotomise the field of antagonism and to become the stronger pole of this dichotomy, that is to say hegemonic. Thus, in the 1981 elections PA.SO.K. gained 48% of the votes and 172 out of the 300 Parliamentary seats and safeguarded the formulation of a self-reliant Government.

C H A P T E R T W O

G O V E R N M E N T A L P E R I O D 1981-85

T h e r o a d o f c h a n g e s

1. "Horizontal" articulation of the key elements of PA.SO.K.'s discourse

In this part of our study we will examine PA.SO.K's articulatory practices in and through which it tried to actualize its pre-governmental declarations, to respond to the events of the conjuncture and the discourses of the other Parties and to maintain hegemony.

We will argue that through these concrete articulatory practices the meanings, which the elements in the previous period's discourse had acquired, were modified. We will also argue that these modifications and the loosening of PA.SO.K's discourse coherence provoked by them, as well as the weakness of the discourses of the other Parties in responding persuasively to the questions created by these modifications contributed to both the 2.5% decline of PA.SO.K's electoral force and the maintainance of its hegemony.

Using subtitle "the road of changes" we wish from the beginning to emphasise that in this period we have two main differentiations: instead of the "vision" we have here the "course", the "road". Instead of the "CHANGE", the Socialist Transformation, we are faced by "changes", "intermediate targets" and "small steps" which usually are

at a distance from the "vision of CHANGE" which had been projected during the previous period.

Following the methodological approach we have traced in the previous part of our study, we will first examine the modifications noticed in the meaning of the key elements of P.A.S.O.K's discourse in a "horizontal", diachronic dimension of articulation, that is, through the differentiations of their responses to the events of the conjuncture and the respective elements of the other discourses, from within new embodiments and exclusions; and following we will examine the implementation of their meaning in a "vertical" and, we could say, "synchronic" dimension of articulation, that is, from within the changing relation of each other, their inner articulation because of their position within P.A.S.O.K's discourse, in this period.

The vision of the Socialist transformation, of the Greek third road to Socialism or the Democratic road to Socialism maintained its basic oppositions to existing Socialism and also to Social Democracy in this period. At the same time, through the texts and the discussions which preceded and accompanied P.A.S.O.K's Congress (10-13 May 1984) the oppositions created during the previous period (1974-81) were further elucidated and strengthened. On the other hand, neither in New Democracy's discourse nor in the Communist Party's was there noted any significant modification as to this element that would have created a crisis of identities and exercised pressures for a

redefinition of the oppositions. Thus we could say that the element of Socialist transformation in PA.SO.K's discourse maintained in this period as well the meaning it had acquired during the previous period.

However, in the previous period and through the articulation of the vision of the Socialist transformation to the tactic of radical opposition between "vision" and existing", the impression had been created and, to some extent, the expectation of direct or quick CHANGE had been cultivated. It is characteristic of this climate that the slogan prevailing during the pre-election rallies in 1981 was: "CHANGE HERE AND NOW". Of course PA.SO.K. had spoken about "small steps" and "intermediate targets" in the course of transition, but even these were acquiring a speed of implementation, through their articulation to the tactic of opposition to the slow rhythm of Social Democracy, which finally did not disappoint previous expectations.

On the other hand, the critique exercised by the Communist Party had to do with "delays", "compromises" and backwardness" and it created some oppositions to which PA.SO.K. had to answer. Thus, in this period, while the meaning of Socialist transformation had not been modified, a distancing of the vision in relation to the time of its realization has been noted. The "HERE and NOW" became "FROM HERE and FORWARDS". The emphasis on the projection of the "vision" was replaced by the emphasis on the projection and the multiple justification of the

"attainable" {eficto}. The "boldness" and the "decisiveness" which characterised the declarations of the visions were replaced by the "good sense" and the "methodical manner"¹, which characterised the realization of the "attainable".

Thus, in this period, P.A.S.O.K. on the one hand maintained the Socialist transformation as stable as a strategic target and on the other hand it continuously took care to reinforce its governmental practice through the argument of "small steps". "The course of transition is objectively and unbreakably related to the initial conditions of starting off, to the point of departure and it is decisively influenced by these concrete conditions".² And proceeding further P.A.S.O.K. argues that "the conditions of starting off specify as well the fundamental characteristics of the course of transition, which is integrated through a long-term procedure".²

If we put these arguments together with the black picture it had painted of what had constituted the "existing" in the previous period and with P.A.S.O.K.'s argument that it had received "chaos" and "burnt earth" in 1981, it will be easy to understand how "small" and "difficult" the "steps" of the course of transition could be expected and how "long" its procedure could be.

Thus, while in the previous period {1974-1981}} the "existing" was projected as a measure of comparison with the "vision", in this period the "existing", the "conditions of departure" were projected as strongly

influencing the "characteristics" and the "speed" of the course of transition. By this tactical manoeuvre, PA.SO.K. tried to surpass the oppositions created by both the Communist Party's critique, which required consistency from PA.SO.K. as to its declarations and greater speed towards CHANGE and New Democracy's criticism, which spoke of dangerous, anti-constitutional changes, about collectivization and nationalisation etc. Precisely these diametrically opposed critiques of PA.SO.K's governmental practices, in connection with the weakness of the other opposition Parties in constructing and formulating an alternative proposition, enabled PA.SO.K. to further its tactic and to argue that the contradictory criticisms of its opponents revealed that it was on the "right road".

Thus, the title "Hellenic third road to Socialism" remained unchanged. However, since in the previous period the meanings "Socialism", "Greek", "Third" were in the main emphasised, elucidated and projected, in this period, the emphasis was shifted to the meaning of "road". It was mainly the departure, the steps, the course, the time that were analysed, elucidated and projected. Exactly this reversal of the emphasis on the characteristics of the element itself was PA.SO.K's answer to the contradictions of the opposition Parties and the events of the conjuncture, as these appeared as unfavourable conditions of departure.

Thus, it became apparent that the element of Socialist transformation retained the meaning it had

acquired during the previous period in addition to the fact that the road would be a long one, with small, sensible and methodical steps which were defined by the unfavourable conditions of departure.

However, while the element of Socialist transformation maintained to a great degree its previous meaning, the same did not happen with the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, which as we have seen had acquired the meaning of Greece's withdrawal from NATO and the E.E.C., of the removal of the U.S. Bases from Greek soil, multi-dimensional foreign policy and of fighting alongside Cyprus. In the 1981-85 period, when PA.SO.K. was in charge of the country, Greece remained within NATO as it did within the E.E.C. and a new agreement was signed with the U.S.A. for the maintainance of the Bases on Greek soil.

That is, we have here an evident inconsistency of PA.SO.K's governmental practice in relation to its pre-governmental declarations. While New Democracy confronted this inconsistency with irony and projected it as characteristic of PA.SO.K's untrustworthiness, the Communist Party strongly criticised PA.SO.K's inconsistency, accusing it of compromising and giving into the pressures and the directives of the U.S.A., NATO and the E.E.C.

PA.SO.K. argued that the positions formulated through the proclamation of September 3rd represented the Movement's strategic targets and its visions, while its policies in government were formulated according to

intermediate targets, to short-term and immediate choices, which of course remained oriented towards the strategic targets, but also were defined by "the combined possibilities and constraints" imposed by the particular conjuncture at any given point of time. "Each step does not constitute a frontal collision on the whole broad front of national matters, but chooses the weak link"⁴ in the chain of dependence and the break in it grows from this point onwards. The consolidation of this advance constitutes a precondition for the next break.

Thus, in this period as well, P.A.S.O.K. insisted that "the struggle for National Independence is of the first priority for our integrated course".⁵ However, while in the previous period emphasis was given to the projection of the centres of dependence {the U.S.A., NATO, the E.E.C. Foreign and Domestic monopolies} and their unfavourable consequences for the country {subjection to foreign centres of decisions, dictatorship, authoritarian structures, the Cyprus tragedy, exploitation, dependent and distorted development etc.}, in this period the emphasis shifted and was reversed:

"The struggle for National Independence is a crucial facet, the National-defensive... For us territorial integrity is a presupposition for Democracy and Socialism. For this reason, the maintenance of our country's defensive ability at high levels, the defence of our territorial integrity, constitute the dominant priorities for the essential consolidation of National Independence. The refusal of such a basic priority not only ignores history but also involves national risks".⁶

Thus, we can see now the following coming to a fore:

"The maintenance of defensive capability and the defence

of the country's territorial integrity", which is related, of course, to the "existing and dangerous threat coming from the East" (Turkish chauvinism)⁶ But the maintenance of the defensive capability of the Armed Forces depends to a great extent on the Greek relationship with the U.S.A. and NATO, since the equipment of the Armed Forces of the country is basically of American and NATO origin. In this basic priority of National Independence, maintenance of defensive capability and the defence of the country's territorial integrity entail -in the conjuncture hitherto-staying within NATO and maintaining a good relationship with the U.S.A.

However, such a shift could be and it was characterised as demagogic by its opponents, since the conjuncture of the Turkish threat as much as the American origin of the country's defensive armament has been a given fact since 1974. But PA.SO.K. did not give an absolute character to this shift. That is, it did not abandon the projection of the unfavourable consequences of dependence nor did it quit the vision of withdrawal from NATO and the removal of the U.S Bases from Greek soil. The projection of the maintenance of the defensive ability justified the temporary delay in removing the U.S. Bases and in withdrawing from NATO.

Simultaneously, PA.SO.K. had presented some "steps" towards a national strategy on the question of NATO and the Bases:

"We have proclaimed and consolidated our political autonomy within NATO. We have disagreed with the

sanctions against Poland, the installation of Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, the assessment of the Middle East and Central America situations. Never before has NATO's Joint Communique contained one country's disagreements within it".⁷

The agreement which PA.SO.K. signed concerning the U.S.Bases on September 8th 1983, included the deadline of their removal -five years from the date of signing. It revised the status of the Bases and introduced a network of controls to safeguard national security and national interests. This agreement has been described by PA.SO.K. as a milestone and a starting - line in the firm consolidation of National Independence. According to New Democracy it was "positive that some improvements came about concerning the status of the Bases, natural because of the passage of such a long period of time", as well as that "a significant problem has been solved as to the security and many of the relations of the country with foreign states in general".⁸ In contrast, the Communist Party reacted negatively ¹⁰, without, however, managing to overthrow PA.SO.K's arguments on defence.

At the same time, PA.SO.K. proceeded with programmed and stable "steps" towards strengthening the country's national defensive capability, placing emphasis on the development of the Greek weapon industry, on the widening of the sources of defensive armament supply, on the Hellenization of the Armed forces, of the Information Services and the Security Bodies and on" the development of a mass Patriotic Movement as a cohesive web of National Popular Unity."¹¹

It was also significant that PA.SO.K. contributed to the formulation of the conditions for detente, disarmament and world-wide Peace, for weakening the cold-war blocs and the promotion of relations of equality and co-operation between Nations, Peoples and States through PA.SO.K's participation in the initiative of the "Sixth" {Non - aligned movement} for Peace. For PA.SO.K. the struggle for Peace is identified with the struggle for National Independence: "We are pioneers in the peace movement".¹²

In general PA.SO.K. although keeping Greece within NATO and agreeing to retain the american Bases in the country for a restricted period of time, tried to apply a Hellenocentric multi-dimensional foreign policy, which was different from the previous foreign policy of New Democracy as it was from the policy of most European governments that were following "with admirable consistency the order of the new cold war."¹³ The support for the P.L.O., the refusal to approve the U.S.A's attack upon Libya, the friendly relations with U.S.S.R. and other countries of Eastern Europe were among PA.SO.K's activities, which characterised its multi-dimensional foreign policy and strengthened Papandreou's argument that:

"Greece was a satellite... the message that the U.S.A. should now receive is that Greece is an independent country, where its people is sovereign in this country."¹⁴

It is worth noting here that while New Democracy was accusing PA.SO.K. of a hazardous, changeable,

adventurous foreign policy without a programme, the Communist Party recognized the positive steps:

"We never ignored these positive differences of the government's policy from those of the cold war line of the dominant circles in the American-NATO coalition and we recognised every position and initiative of the PA.SO.K. government and its participation in the activities of the "Sixth", which contributed to the question of Peace. On the contrary, we supported and strengthened them as a Party." At the same time, however, K.K.E. remarked that PA.SO.K. had postponed "to the distant future its declared targets of Change".¹⁵

Nevertheless, since the removal of the U.S.Bases and the country's withdrawal from NATO continued -even with some temporary delay- to remain strategic targets in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, the withdrawal from the E.E.C. was abandoned even as a strategic target. PA.SO.K. did not fight any more for the country's disengagement from the E.E.C., but "the restriction of negative influences on the country's economy resulting from joining and for re-negotiation of our position in the E.E.C. within the framework of the memorandum."¹⁶

PA.SO.K. aimed at the formulation of a "special status" for Greece, through the transfer of resources from the various funds, through the promotion of the Mediterranean Integrated Programmes {M.O.P's} and through the acceptance of special arrangements for crucial branches of the Greek economy. It also fought for the formulation of another perspective within a widened E.E.C., which would promote the convergence of the difference between North and South ¹⁷ within the Community, achievement of autonomy from the U.S.A. and the

"opening of the presumptions for a Europe of Working people".¹⁸

It is evident that we have here a clear modification in the meaning that the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE had acquired in PA.SO.K.'s discourse during the previous period. PA.SO.K. never explained clearly why it had left the target of disengagement from the E.E.C. which it had included in its strategic visions. We consider that the answer can be found in the remarks we made in the previous part of our study in relation to the hyper-national-Hellenocentric positions that PA.SO.K. articulated in its discourse in this period. That is, PA.SO.K., in its attempt to disarticulate from the Right Wing discourse the "national" element, which was the pre-eminently central element, and to articulate it to its own discourse, projected absolute hyper-national visions.

It is worth noting that PA.SO.K.'s abandonment of the target of withdrawal from the E.E.C. did not create any intense confrontation. New Democracy argued that PA.SO.K.'s ambiguous attitude to the E.E.C. damaged the country, because there was a delay in the application of programme as there was of the absorption of resources from the E.E.C.'s funds; but it was finally satisfied, because PA.SO.K. adopted maintenance within the E.E.C., thus justifying N.D.'s own preference:

"It would be just for anybody to recognise that this inconsistency is the smallest of the sins of PA.SO.K.'s foreign policy, because despite its high-voiced declarations did not lead us where it was threatening to lead."¹⁹

The Communist Party, even though it remained "steadily oriented towards the struggle for disengagement from the E.E.C.", at the same time pursued a policy of "fighting alongside political forces which are not arguing today in favour of the disengagement."²⁰ As we have seen, the K.K.E. essoteriko had argued in favour of Greece joining the E.E.C. and it was on the road towards an agreement for fighting alongside the Communist Party of Greece. Exactly this convergence with forces which were in favour of Greece joining the E.E.C. weakened the Communist Party's critique of PA.SO.K's about-turn as to the E.E.C. question.

On the Cyprus and Aegean question {relations with Turkey} PA.SO.K's governmental practices were in agreement with its declared positions:

"Fighting alongside the Cypriot people in their struggle for an independent, non-aligned and uncommitted Cyprus, for withdrawal of the occupying troops and the return of refugees to their homes."²¹

The cooperation with the Cyprus government there was harmonious. The reactions to the declaration of the false-state of the occupied North Cyprus by Denktash was unanimous and resulted in the international obloquy of the undertaking. However, despite the coordinated activities of Greece and Cyprus, no advance was noted towards a definite solution of the problem.

PA.SO.K's position as to the Aegean Sea was and remained:

"Greece demands from Turkey nothing, but it accepts neither dialogue nor arbitration in dispute of its

continental, aerial, maritime and sub-marine borders established by international treaties."²²

The critique exercised by the opposition Parties concerning these national matters referred to PA.SO.K's categorical refusal to have a dialogue with Turkey. They argued that a dialogue could be made for the peaceful arrangement of differences.²³ PA.SO.K's answer was that a dialogue does have some sense when there really are differences or contestations from both sides. But, when the contestations are one-sided and rather infringe international treaties, dialogue would mean yielding.²⁴

More concretely we would say that, in and through PA.SO.K's governmental practices, the meaning that the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE had acquired during the previous period had been modified in the following way: Instead of the meaning of withdrawal from NATO and removal of the U.S.Bases, it connoted temporarily remaining within NATO and temporary maintenance of the U.S.Bases to secure the defensive capability of the country. Instead of withdrawal from the E.E.C., it took the meaning of a national-centrist fight within the E.E.C. for an independent Europe, while the dimension of participation in international initiatives for detente and peace was added to the meaning of Hellenocentric, multi-dimensional foreign policy.

It is clear that this new modified meaning which the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE acquired in PA.SO.K's discourse in this period was significantly restricted in relation to that of the previous period.

We shall now examine the modifications that came about in the meaning of another element, that of POPULAR DOMINANCE. As we have seen, it acquired the meaning of upgrading representative institutions and the creation of new institutions of Popular Participation and social control. This meaning had condensed in the watchword "PA.SO.K. in government - People in Power".

PA.SO.K's practices related to upgrading representative institutions can be described as significant enough and to a great extent in agreement with PA.SO.K's proclaimed positions. As to the upgrading of Parliament: The age of majority for voting in the elections was reduced from twenty-one years to eighteen, thus recognizing the political maturity of youth and vindicating its strong politicization during dictatorship and post-dictatorship period.

The cross indicating preference in the elections for MPs was abolished and the election of an MP took place according to his/her priority on the Party list of candidates. Thus, a decisive attack was made on the network of clientelist relations, that grave "wound" in the country's political life; the role of the political Parties was strengthened and some presuppositions were formulated for upgrading their organization and function since, through the abolition of the cross of preference, the electoral confrontation would be done at a Party and less at a personal level.

The economic support of the political Parties from

the state budget for safeguarding their economic autonomy and control of their finances was established for the transparency of their financial resources. Finally, PA.SO.K's governmental decision concerning the revision of the clauses of the Constitution about the jurisdiction of the President of the Republic and aiming at transferring jurisdiction from the President to Parliament should be enlisted within the practices for upgrading Parliament;²⁵ that is, through this practice, PA.SO.K. pursued the weakening of executive power and the strengthening of Parliament. As we have pointed out in the previous part of our study, during the voting of the Constitution in 1975, PA.SO.K. and the other Parties of opposition had reacted against the excessive powers of the President of the Republic, since he had not been elected directly by the People, considering that the principle of Popular Dominance was offended in this way.

Thus, we could say that the upgrading of the Parliament acquired, in this period, the meaning of widening the electoral body, of weakening clientelist relations, of strengthening the role of the Party at the cost of the MP, of securing the economic autonomy of the Parties and of strengthening openness in political life and, finally, of strengthening the Parliament at the cost of the executive power.

New Democracy reacted especially strongly to the abolition of the cross indicating preference, arguing that this measure restricted MP's free expression and it

promised to reestablish it when again in government. Also there was strong reaction, on the part of New Democracy,²⁶ against the revision of the clauses of the Constitution, as it argued that the power taken from the President of the Republic were not transferred to Parliament but to the Prime Minister in combination with the strengthened position of the leader of the Greek Parties. Of course, this critique of N.D. did not created any new confrontation because it simply confirmed the insistence of the two Parties in their proclaimed positions.

In contrast, the Communist Party voted in favour of all the above laws; it recognised them as "positive measures of democratization and modernization"²⁷ and it argued in favour of the "democratic" revision of the Constitution.²⁸ However, it made a strong critique of PA.SO.K. not proceeding -as it has promised in the pre-governmental period- to vote for simple proportional representation and it preferred to vote with N.D. for an electoral system of reinforced proportional representation, which was in favour with the two big Parties.

At this point there was really a going back on PA.SO.K's declared positions and consequently a modification of the element of POPULAR DOMINANCE. PA.SO.K. preferred, in this case, to pursue a new electoral policy of self - reliance, voting for the electoral system of reinforced proportional representation, thus putting its reliability in dispute. PA.SO.K. tried to moderate the effect of K.K.E's critique by arguing that the new

electoral system approached the Simple Proportional and was more just than the previous system. However, the question of the electoral law could fit neither in the strategy of the "small steps", nor even in the tactic of the "attainable". For this reason, it constituted a basic point of reference in the Communist Party critique of PA.SO.K's reliability.

As to the upgrading of the other two institutions of representation, PA.SO.K's governmental practices also moved towards its programmed declarations, but with restricted steps.

The first grade of Local Self-government {T.A} was strengthened towards decentralization, administrative self-containment and economic self-reliance. Motives and opportunities were given for the creation of municipal enterprises {Law 1262/82} and the participation of Local Self-government {T.A} in all the Public Organizations was established, in the Central Council of Health, in the National Council of Higher Education etc. Through the Law 1270/82 the borough and community code was modified and essential improvements were made in the electoral legislation of the municipal elections; while, through the Law 1416/84 a possibility was given for the transmission of jurisdictions and resources from the public administration to T.A. However, the creation of the Second and Third grade of Local Self-government did not proceed -as provision was made by PA.SO.K's programme- and this constituted an object of critique, especially by the

Communist Party. Also, PA.SO.K. was accused of the fact that, while transmitting much jurisdiction to T.A., the transmission of resources was not analogous to this.

Through the Law 1264/82, Trade Union liberties and the right to strike were secured and the lock-out was abolished. Simple proportional representation was established as the firm system of Trade Union elections. The number of elected representatives in state councils was increased and the participation of the representatives of Trade Union organizations in the different organs of popular participation was institutionalised. However, simultaneously, the possibility for strikes of the employees in the socialized public enterprises was restricted; because for a strike to be declared a majority of 50% + 1 of the employees in the enterprise was required. This Act {article 4} provoked strong reactions and critiques both from N.D. and K.K.E. New Democracy accused PA.SO.K., also, of putting Trade Unionism under the control of the Party; while the Communist Party recognised the positive acts of the Law 1264/82 and asked for them to be broadened further. It also asked for a generalization of the positive Acts of the Law towards the civil servants and seafaring men.

From what we have said above, it becomes clear that PA.SO.K's governmental practices for the upgrading of the institutions of representation {Parliament, Local Self-government, Trade Unionism} possibly did not realise completely its programmed declarations, but they moved

within their framework and kept the meaning, to a great extent, which this sub-element of POPULAR DOMINANCE had acquired within PA.SO.K's discourse in the previous period.

PA.SO.K. also made small but not always firm steps towards the creation of new institutions of Popular Participation and Social control. 1983 was described by PA.SO.K. as "the year of the great institutional and structural changes".²⁹

The elected Prefectural Councils as determining factors of planning and development in the Prefecture were institutionalised. Simultaneously they constituted a significant step towards decentralization. Elected regional Councils were institutionalized as well in somewhat specific cases (in the regions of the islands; prefecture of Evros). Popular Assemblies, Neighbourhood Councils, Regional Councils and the Estate clerks were institutionalized as organs of direct Popular participation, having a significant role in the construction of the five-year plan of economic, social and political development. The Committee of programming State Supplies was established, in which representatives of the agents of all the productive classes were participated in aiming at the Hellenization of State Supplies, the use, that is, of the State's ability to buy things to strengthen Greek production and Greek employment. It should be noticed that expenditure for state supplies surpassed 5% of the G.N.P., while in 1980 and 1981 20 to 30 thousand million drachmas were handed out in commission to

middlemen.

The decentralization in the procedure of the production of Public Works was secured by presidential acts and social control by auction and entrusting the work to the attendance of the construction and taking delivering of the work was established through the Law 1418/84. Through the Law for the unification of the Security Bodies total control by the political authority was secured, since the police was organised in the form of direct services of the Ministry; and the Prefectural Police Committee was created, in which representatives of Local Self-government participated and which decided on the solution of all the serious problems of the order in the Prefecture. The exercise of social and academic control was institutionalised as well as the participation of all the responsible political and social agents in the planning of educational procedure, through the founding and function of National Council of Higher Education {E.S.A.P.} and the National Council of Education {E.S.Y.P.}.

Through the Law 1365/83 the government prepared the socialization of the Public Sector of the economy, thus widening the dimension of social control in the field of production. After discussion with interested agents, it proceeded with the socialization of the Public Electricity Enterprise {D.E.H.}, Telecommunications Actions Enterprise {O.T.E.}, the Railway Enterprise {O.S.E.} and Olympic Airways {O.A}, through the creation of the Representative Assemblies of Social Control {A.S.K.E.}, in which

representatives of employees, T.A., social agents and administration participated. However, it did not proceed with the socialization of the Banking system and Mass Communications of the Media, which had also been included in PA.SO.K's discourse. Finally, the institution of the Supervisory Councils was established through the Law 1385/83; they were constructed according to the similarity of branches with concrete productive or geographical unity. Representatives of the employees of the Enterprise, representatives of the Ministries of Development, of Local Self-government and members of the administrative Council of the Enterprise participated in them. It was an institution which created decentralized organs of social control, which could secure the harmonization of private enterprises within the framework of the developmental programme. However, this institution did not work, apart from in one or two cases {mines and quarries}.

The Communist Party recognized and backed these positive steps made towards Popular Participation and Social Control. However, it exercised a critique of the ineffective function of the participatory organs for restriction of their jurisdictions and their non-generalization in rest of the State Enterprises as well as in the Banking system. Also it criticised the delays noted in the activation of specific institutions.

In contrast, New Democracy's critique was completely negative and presented great fluctuations. It accused PA.SO.K. of disarticulating the State and putting it under

Party control, of dangerous experiments and destroying the economy. Sometimes it spoke of practices against the Constitution and intervention in the property status quo and sometimes of non-programmed and superficial institutionalizations without any essential result. Finally, from within this critique it started to formulate and elucidate its alternative model, which was that of "Privatization" of the State sector, for "less State" and giving decisive support for private initiative, through the abolition of the normative regulations and the function of free competition.³⁰ This model was described as "Thatcherism", because it seemed to be influenced by the programme of Mrs Thatcher's government. That is, we could say that New Democracy adopted the New Liberal views, which at the same time had had some success in England and in the U.S.A., in order to respond to PA.SO.K's governmental practices, which promoted Popular Participation and Social Control.

However, the oppositions created by the above critiques of N.D. and the K.K.E. were in some way contradictory. While the K.K.E's critique tended to point out the deficiencies which had been noted in the meaning of Popular Participation and Social Control through and within PA.SO.K's government practices, N.D's critique -through the projection of its "New liberalism"- somewhat strengthened the meaning which Popular Participation and Social Control were acquired through the concrete practices of PA.SO.K.

Thus, PA.SO.K. was rather facilitated to project

its consistency and insistence on the meaning, which these elements had acquired within its discourse.

However, on the other hand, we should emphasise that, while many institutions of Popular Participation and Social Control had been established in the field of power as much as in the field of production and a superoptimist could speak of a procedure of passing of means of power and the means of production to the People's hands, the grade of activation and the way of function of these institutions was so restricted and weak, that, strictly speaking, the whole attempt proved to be only a small opening of the means of power and production to Popular Participation and Social Control. PA.SO.K. itself recognised this delay not only on the basis of the tactic of the small steps towards the "attainable", but by pointing out another dimension as well.

"Passing Laws is not enough for the establishment of institutional changes... This is a great misunderstanding and misinterpretation. This paper {the Law} give you simply the ticket for a very hard struggle of a rather uncertain outcome... Finally, Socialism is above all a way of life."²¹

However, further than the indisputable rightness of this remark, which aims at relating the promotion of the institutions of Popular Participation and Social Control to the level of information, maturity and militancy of the social whole there is also an indisputable delay in the speed of activation and of taking advantage of these institutions, which should be attributed to PA.SO.K. itself, which recognised that:

"We discover... weaknesses and back and forth movements of the agents and institutions of popular participation of socialization and social control, as well as of self-governing experiments in the form of direct democracy."³²

From what we have said above, it becomes clear that -in and through PA.SO.K's governmental practices in the period 1981-85- the element of POPULAR DOMINANCE kept to some extent the meaning it had acquired during the previous period within PA.SO.K's discourse. In some of its dimensions this meaning was kept at the level of "intermediate targets" while in others, at the degree of "small steps".

SOCIAL LIBERATION was another central element in PA.SO.K's discourse and as we have seen it had acquired the meaning of effacement of social inequalities, of alienation and exploitation; as well as the meaning of improvement in the quality of life, of the creation of cultural life and of development based mainly on national-popular culture and of respect for and protection of the environment.

We will now examine the extent to which in and through PA.SO.K's practices the meaning of this element was maintained or modified.

As to the effacement of social inequalities, of alienation and exploitation PA.SO.K. presented a great number of measures. The Laws penalizing political convictions and the certificates of social convictions, which were necessary for public sector job appointments and not only for there, were abolished. The National Resistance

Organization of 1944 against the occupying troops which had remained in darkness, because its greater part was under Left-Wing control, was recognised and restored. Also, permission was given for the free repatriation of political refugees, who had been outside Greece since the civil war period. Through these practices national reconciliation was achieved and national homogeneity was strengthened. These were practices which actualised that we have called the "one-Nation" strategy, in contrast to the "two-Nations" strategy, which the Right Wing had applied.

Family Law was reformed and discrimination to the cost of women and children were abolished. The establishment of the dowry was abolished, the political marriage was institutionalized as equal to the religious one and the rights of all children -whether legitimate or not- were made equal, parental care instead of the father's authority was established and the patriarchal family was replaced by the equal family.

The Law concerning the equality of the two sexes in the field of work was passed. At the same time the Council of equality of the two sexes at a central level, Prefectoral Committees and Prefectoral Offices of equality at regional level, were institutionalized to control the application and the promotion of equality in everyday life.

In addition to the above measures, which really effaced some inequalities, there were also measures which did not do away with but lessened some other inequalities and improved the quality of life.

In the work sector, the five-day week was introduced and working hours were reduced from 42 to 40 per week; the minimum annual holiday entitlement was increased from 12 to 24 working days. Laws were passed (e.g. 1264/82), which determined duties, responsibilities and security measures at work and committees were constituted to control their application and to inform employers and employees.

Medium-range salaries were significantly increased and the lower limits were more than doubled, as were lower and middle pensions and the establishment of A.T.A. (Automatic Readjustment to the Price index) was institutionalized. Through these measures economic inequalities were reduced especially between high and low salaried people.

For the first time in Greece, programmes of subsidized employment for specific categories of unemployment (young people, women, builders, non-specialised workers the disabled) were established; a specific programme for fighting unemployment was applied by the Ministries of domestic affairs and Public Actions. Through these two programmes over 140,000 unemployed in total gained employment ³³, while through the Law 1387/83 an obstacle was put in the way of mass dismissals and through the founding of the Organization of Rehabilitation of Enterprises (O.A.E), provision was made for the security of the posts of 70,000 employees in the problematic, indebted private businesses.³³

In the sector of Health, P.A.S.O.K's programmed declaration of the establishment of the National Health System (E.S.Y) where the State undertook exclusive responsibility for offering Health Services began to be actualised. The institutionalizing of the National Health System Law 1397/83 was accompanied by the Law for the Central Council of Health (K.E.S.Y.) and by the Law for the construction of the National Organization of Medicine. At the same time, the activities for the infrastructure and the National Health System personnel {Centres of Health, regional consulting rooms, full-time state doctors, proper nursing personnel} proceeded rather rapidly. While in 1980 public expenditure for Health was 3.5% of the G.N.P., in 1984 it reached 5.1%; and while in the period 1979-81 expenditure was distributed as: 61.2% for Athens and Thessaloniki and 38.8% for the rest of the country, in the period 1982-84 the distribution of the expenditure was reversed: 47% for Athens and Thessaloniki and 53% for the rest of Greece.³⁴ Thus, it seemed that not only the security of Health and the Welfare care was put on a new integrated base of decommodification, but also a systematic attempt was made to lessen the inequalities between urban centres and the country areas.

In the sector of Welfare care, all those who were non-insured and above seventy years of age received pension; additional pension was given to all employees and clerks; the lower limits of the pension of the elderly and disabled people were more than doubled, as were the

pensions of the peasants; free medical and medicinal care was given to all peasants, students and those insured, who did not have such cover {businessmen, light-manufacturers, car drivers}. Specific programmes were made for the child, the mother, the elderly and people with special needs.

The allowances to blind people, to the deaf and dumb etc. were trebled and allowances to other specific groups were either increased or given new allowances. The programme of social tourism, which gave the chance for holidays to specific categories of social groups {youth, pensioners} was established for the first time. In 1984, 200,000 people were served by this programme. The expenditure for social protection was 239 billions drs in 1980 and in 1984 this reached 750 billions.³⁵

On the subject of worker's housing, it should be mentioned that during PA.SO.K's first three years in government the number of workers' families obtaining homes through the Worker's Housing Organization {O.E.K.} accounted for 47% of all families housed over the previous 27 years.³⁶

With regard to the subject of cultural development, PA.SO.K's governmental activities moved along four axes: The protection of and elevation of Greece's cultural heredity; pure cultural revival of the provinces setting up an open cultural education and strengthening and spreading the work of creators. A great number of spiritual and cultural manifestations were noted all over the Greece.

Through the founding of the Ministry of the New

Generation and Athletics in 1982, P.A.S.O.K tried to convert its declarations for the rights of the youth in work, education, culture, athletics, social processes into concrete possibility. It proceeded to strengthen a programme model -ethical,material, technical- for the use of young people in productive initiatives; with programmed stays of scientists and students in institutions of Higher education and Technical-Vocational Colleges in the forgotten provinces for the study of its problems and demands; with the recognition of the role of youth in the attempt to protect the environment, the preservation of ecological balance and Greek tradition and Culture. It proceeded also with the elaboration and application of programmes of Mass Popular Athletics. Besides, the performance of athletic work of the infrastructure was significant {construction of stadiums, indoor gymnastic halls, swimming pools etc }.

Finally, in the area of environment protection, some attempts have made especially at reconstructing the cities and villages according to a town plan. The quality of fuel has been improved and specific measures have been taken to face the problem of atmosphere pollution, especially in Athens, where the problems have sharpened. Particularly positive results, however, have not been noted. Besides, some programmes have been set up for the recognition and protection of aquatic places as well as for the protection and restoration of the coasts.

We have examined government practices related to

SOCIAL LIBERATION at greater length because, as became evident, specific emphasis was given to this element. PA.SO.K. argued that its social policy was something first experienced by the Greek people. And it is characteristic that N.D. accused PA.SO.K. not of making deficient or restricted social policy, but of exercising social policy by worsening the public deficit and the external debt; New Democracy likewise blamed PA.SO.K. for not increasing production and the G.N.P. first before proceeding with social measures once national income had increased, but instead PA.SO.K. proceeded with extended social allocations by funding the expenditure through domestic and external loans. Apart from the correctness or incorrectness of this critique, in this point it is significant that N.D. accepted that PA.SO.K. applied social policy rather above the limits of the economic possibilities of the State.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, usually characterised all the positive steps with which PA.SO.K.'s government proceeded as serious achievements that the employees³⁷, youth, the pensioners etc had gained through their struggles; at the same time, it recognised that the mass popular movement could now fight from "better positions". Sometimes again, it accepted that "specific positive steps had been made, but the problems had not been essentially confronted"³⁸. And, of course, it continued to project the need for taking effective measures for securing and strengthening the hitherto achievements, and for intensifying the struggle of the working class to promote

essential Change.

PA.SO.K's response to N.D's criticism was that the State should, finally, show its interest and care for the "non-privileged" and for the "forgotten piece of Greece", the Greek provinces. PA.SO.K's government, as a socialist government, considered its duty to put the human being in the centre of its policy; to relieve the social strata which had felt more the consequences of the long-standing policies of the Right Wing; and to place specific emphasis on the improvement of the quality of life, despite unfavourable economic conditions. Concurrently, it projected the achievement of its governmental policy as significant, that is, the fact that it managed to exercise extensive social policy and at the same time to reduce inflation and increase the G.N.P.

The projection of the option of the democratic road to Socialism and its tactic of the "attainable" which secured the wider consensus was the fixed answer to the K.K.E's critique.

In conclusion, we could say that in and through PA.SO.K's government practices the basic oppositions created to the other Parties in the previous period were maintained and the element of SOCIAL LIBERATION acquired the meaning of lessening exploitation, alienation and social inequalities {between city and country as much as between social strata}; the improvement of the quality of life {with specific care for work, Health, housing, maternity, children, youth, the elderly}; the attempt at

respecting and protecting the environment and the creation of cultural life and development based mainly on the national-popular culture. That is, this element maintained the meaning it had acquired during the previous period to a significant degree {level of intermediate targets}.

During the examination of the element of **SOCIAL SYNTHESIS**, we discovered that PA.SO.K. continued to place specific emphasis on the construction and reconstruction of E.L.E. {National-Popular Unity}, to elucidate its constitution and identity, to heighten its significant role on the democratic road towards Socialism.

We could say that its practices moved in three directions: the maintenance of the E.L.E., the strengthening of its identity and the widening of it. The maintenance of the E.L.E. was pursued through measures related to surpassing friction, disagreements of secondary importance, quild attitudes and healing schisms. PA.SO.K. recognised that the alliance of the social strata which constituted the E.L.E. was characterized by dissensions and friction of secondary importance which had a concrete economic and social origin. That is, dependent and distorted economic and social development prevented the construction of a stable social and productive structure; it facilitated social mobility and the swelling of the middle strata and averted the formulation of a civil society. The contestations were mainly restricted to the close framework of the guild attitude, to narrow economic

demands, without having wider socio-political targets. In other words, the politicization of society had been minimised.

To elucidate and strengthen the characteristics of E.L.E's identity PA.SO.K. did not now insist on the historical origin of the currents within it, which "elevated it to the status of the agent of the Popular Movement", {National Resistance, Unyielding struggles, Resistance against dictatorship}, but rather it projected its national, political, social and cultural characteristics, which were defined by participation in the common struggles of the present. National: through the participation in the struggle "for the integration of National Independence, the protection of the National Integrity and our dominant rights". Political: through the participation in the struggle "for institutional and structural changes in the public life". Social: through the participation in the struggle "against foreign and domestic monopoly capital". And Cultural: through the participation in the struggle "for a closer approach to domestic culture, to popular culture, for a critical attitude towards all philosophical, political and historic currents of thought and for consciousness of socialist ideas".³⁹

Thus, the openness and the constitutive character of the E.L.E. was elucidated. It did not include any element of "popular front" logic and did not constitute an opportunist alliance and co-existence of preconstituted,

inequal associates, who would be rejected by the "vanguard" at subsequent "stages" of transition. It was an open, relational, equivalent social alliance, which was constructing its identity in and through the participation in common national, political, social and cultural struggles with a common vision: the peaceful and democratic road of transition to Socialism.

We observe that their participation in common struggles was for PA.SO.K. the furnace within which, on the one hand, the E.L.E. forged its identity and, on the other, secured its coherence. This observation helps us to see from another point of view the emphasis given by PA.SO.K. on the creation of the new institutions of popular participation and social control in the field of production as much as in that of power. Because the struggles would be mainly within these new institutions:

"in this field of struggle perceptions and tactics will be tried, organizational structures will be formulated and practices and interventions will be specialised."⁴⁰

Within the field of institutions the E.L.E. and the mass movement:

"will widen their power, will construct their wider social and political discourse, will go from the field of partial contest to the field of politicised option, from narrow economic struggle to the total struggle for a worthy use of the entire productive process to the advantage of the social whole and the consolidation of the new productive and social relations."⁴¹

This explains also the strong presence of PA.SO.K's officials, members and followers within the new institutions and within the various branches of the State.

"The phenomenon of 'Green-guards'-as the inventive sarcasm of the race called it- took enormous dimensions"⁴² and, of course, it constituted the object of strong criticism especially from N.D. but also from the K.K.E. However, something similar was to be expected, since PA.SO.K. saw that "the struggle for consolidation of the new institutional changes is of strategic significance for the course of socialist change."⁴³

It is significant that PA.SO.K. itself recognised some of its weaknesses and tried to blunt their unfavourable consequences as far as the public opinion was concerned:

"The old corrupted regime cannot easily be radically transformed in such a small period of time... For this, it is natural for PA.SO.K. to include within it all the possibilities and the weaknesses of an authentic movement in the concrete historic and social field... That some weaknesses appear in some aspects of its policy is very natural. Phenomena of arrogance and conceit, of manipulation subjected to everyday friction, of weakness in composing and transforming oppositions which have a social and political origin."⁴⁴

Besides, the Communist Party accused PA.SO.K. of "Partyization"⁴⁵ of the State mechanism and denounced the "style" and "ethos" of its power. Its more general critique was that PA.SO.K.:

"was progressively lessening the radicalism of its initial phase and making its anti-imperialist. anti-monopolist declarations more and more ambiguous and unclear and it was increasingly going back on promises."⁴⁶

In addition, especially after PA.SO.K's rise to government, it was criticized for "asking for consensus or at least for tolerance as to its policy in sections of the

big bourgeois class as well."⁴⁶ And even more, that, even though in its declarations PA.SO.K. distanced itself from Social Democracy, "it follows the policy of reforms within the framework of the system, which constitutes the characteristic of social democratic policy."⁴⁶

The K.K.E. tried through its critique to increase the unrest felt by a fraction of PA.SO.K's followers because of the non-fulfilment of their visions, in the hope that the disenchanted would be embodied in its own electoral base. However, by remaining steadily oriented in the direction of the model of Statism, it did not manage -at least in this period- to evaluate and to make a right use of PA.SO.K's social opening through the new institutions. That is, it was not able to articulate its concrete policy to the wide institutional field of the non-controlled relationships and to increase its social influence. It rested again on its general aphorisms of "anti-imperialist" and "anti-monopolist" struggle and on its dogmatic positions on the role of the Party, of the working class and its alliance. Thus, in the 1985 elections, not only did it not succeed in achieving its electoral target, but also the total force of the two Communist Parties from 12.27%, which was in 1981, fell to 11.73%.

On the other hand, New Democracy tried to undermine and denigrate the new institutions, intensifying its attitude concerning what it claimed as PA.SO.K's "risk-fraught", "false socialist" experiments and denouncing the phenomena of "Green-guards" and "Partyzation" where they

were observed. It also tried to widen its social base not through the projection of new vision, but through changes in the leadership and co-operation with officials from the field of the Traditional Centre (Pesmatzoglou J., Tsouderou B. etc). However, the fact that K.Mitsotakis was elected as a leader of New Democracy -a politician coming from the field of the Union of the Centre (E.K.), having the stigma of a "defector" and many personal differences between himself and A.Papandreou- led to a worsening of relations between PA.SO.K and N.D. Many times the confrontations took on a personal character and the two Parties adopted the tactic of polarization. This polarization was strengthened by PA.SO.K's proposition for revision of the Constitution and the change in its attitude as to the candidate for the Presidency of the Republic.

These decisions of PA.SO.K. were supported by the K.K.E. Thus, while in 1985 PA.SO.K. would propose Karamanlis's re-election and result would have been obtained through the votes of PA.SO.K. and N.D., Ch.Sarzetakis was in the event finally elected by the combined votes of PA.SO.K. and K.K.E. Also, they agreed on the revision of the Constitution, while N.D. reacted strongly against this. Thus, we could say that through these practices N.D. was isolated to some extent. Further than these practices, PA.SO.K. also used electoral co-operation with the leaders of three smaller Parties to widen its electoral base (Zigdis J. of the Union of Democratic Centre, Protopapas Ch. of the Party of Democratic Socialism

and Psaroudakis N. of Christian Democracy, which in the previous elections had concentrated about 4% of the votes).

In the 1985 elections PA.SO.K. attracted 45.82% of the votes and, thanks to the electoral system, it secured 161 out of 300 seats in parliament and a majority government. N.D. remained in the second position with 126 seats, even though it managed to capitalise on the unrest at PA.SO.K's government and to increase its electoral force from 35.81% in 1981 to 40.84% in 1985.

From the analysis of the results of the 1985 elections, a common observation was that the Communist Party was the greater loser. It not only failed to attract PA.SO.K's disenchanted voters, as it expected to do, but also it experienced a slight weakening of its force. The K.K.E. attributed this result to the climate of polarization which prevailed during the pre-electoral period and to the psychology of the "lost vote", because of the electoral system. According to its opinion these facts led some of the voters to vote for PA.SO.K.

Even though PA.SO.K's electoral force was lessened by 2.25% in relation to 1981, it was satisfied, since it managed to remain the hegemonic pole in the field of the electoral body. Besides, an empirical study of the electoral results showed that the lessening of PA.SO.K's electoral force was concentrated mainly in the urban strata of the large cities while in the small urban, popular and rural regions it fluctuated at almost the same levels.⁴⁷

From what we have said above it results that

PA.SO.K. in and through its practices, which are related to the element of SOCIAL SYNTHESIS, managed to elucidate more concretely the meaning of the E.L.E. as a multi-collective historical bloc, which acquired concrete national, political, social and cultural dimensions through its participation in common struggles in the course of the democratic road to Socialism. It also managed to secure to a significant degree the synthesis, unity and coherence of the E.L.E. In other words, we could say that the element of SOCIAL SYNTHESIS maintained to a significant degree the meaning it had acquired during the previous period.

PA.SO.K's rise to power in October 1981 inaugurated a new epoch for the **ORGANIZATION**. A new jurisdiction, new duties as well as rights and new relations and contradictions came to the fore. The end of over forty years government by the Right Wing entailed -apart from other things- the urgent need for a change in the personnel of the higher posts of the administrative machine. As expected, the government turned to the ORGANIZATION of the Movement for the satisfaction of this need. According to one witness^{4a} three thousand first-class members of the Organization came into the State mechanism to cover various governmental and administrative posts. These people, who were soon called "green guards", mainly came from the branch organizations because of their technocratic experience and they tried to some extent to participate in the formulation of the government policy, exercising

control over keeping up the "contract with the People".

The old Party-members {paleocommatiki} saw this involvement as an attempt to subject them to and control them through a non-electoral mechanism which violated their independence as "elected representatives of the nation", something which made some of them resign.⁴⁹ Nor could the technocrats function with some politicised first-class Party-members above them.

Papandreou emphasised this situation rather early {in February 1982} when he referred to "phenomena of bad functioning and unfavourable {Public} impressions, which the Right Wing tried greatly to exploit." "The Organization" he said, "is the consciousness of government" and it was impermissible that it should "...act as the police of the government."⁵⁰

Intra-Party memoranda, instructions and seminars⁵¹ of the Party-officials followed, as well as the 9th and 10th Assembly of the Central Committee, which not only specified the relations between Organization and Government, but also the relationship between Organization and Parliamentary group and in general the relations among the Movement-Government-State-Mass Movement. These relations were confirmed and systematized at the first Congress of the Movement {12-13 of May 1984}. Through these relations the basic oppositions to the conceptions of the Right Wing and the Communist Parties as to the form, function and role of the Party as well as to the respective conceptions of the nature and the role of the State, which

had been projected during the previous period were reconfirmed. However, the role of the Organization was redefined and specialised. The Movement was proclaimed to be "a conjoining and synthesis of governmental planning and Popular Action... a guidance pole... a centre of decisions and planning."⁵² The union of Party and Government was achieved only at the higher level by the President and the Executive Office {E.G.} with the Ministerial Council; the union of Government and Parliamentary group was achieved also through institutionalised functions, in which the political leadership of each ministry and the corresponding Parliamentary Sector of Work {K.T.E.} participated.

The basic elaboration of political strategy and of the general framework of P.A.S.O.K's Movement "is integrated within the organs of the Central Committee, the Executive Office and the President", while the Government was the "central agent of exercising political power"⁵³ within the framework of the movement's preferences. However, given that almost all the members of the Executive Office and many of the members of the Central Committee had had governmental posts, there was an overlapping of responsibilities at this higher level which led to a kind of centralism. At the same time the employment of a great number of Party officials in governmental posts weakened the function of Organization and restricted turbulence and reactions at the base, as well as the proclaimed two-way communication between base and top.

Thus, the role of Organization for a significant

period of time was restricted to support, analyse and specialise the realised governmental action; to orient and politicise the mass movements; to play a leading role in the creation and function of the new institutions of Popular Participation and to participate in the promotion of the developmental procedure which was defined by the five-year programme.

The decision of the 10th Assembly of the Central Committee said that:

"Our Organization should secure consistency and coherence between the politically attainable, the socially necessary and the ideologically desirable in its political theory and its everyday action; should be aggressively undertake the information and enlightenment of the people as to the government's task; support political change, propagating this as we can and as we are doing to day in relation to what we are aiming at and willing to bring about tomorrow."⁴

This placing of the Organization under the auspices of the government became more visible through some modifications being noted in the function of Organization. Mention was made in the resolution passed by the Congress that:

"The Organization does without the luxury of numerous centres of decision-making, of the in-Party mechanisms, of the currents and groups. It supports the United View."⁵

We have seen that in the previous period democratic procedures were firstly restricted through the application of the principle of effectiveness. Now this restriction proceeded still more with the application of the principle of the "monolithic facade" presented to the exterior. This principle meant that the expression of different opinions

and disagreements was exhausted within the organs; the Organization appeared to the outside as having a united view, a readiness for action. Thus, the minority was subordinated to the majority, the lower-ranking organs to the higher ones. Of course, PA.SO.K. did not make any use of the term "monolithic facade", because this term was identified with the term "democratic centralism" of the Communist Parties. The term "United View" in political action was employed by PA.SO.K., but it had the same meaning as the term used above.

However, we should point out that the above decisions concerning a United View in political action were never strictly kept. On the contrary, PA.SO.K.'s every practice was characterised organizationally by a relative degree of laxity, differentiation and liberality. Within PA.SO.K.'s organizations and also in public discussions it's much greater ease in the expression of different views was evident than in the corresponding ones of the Communist Party. For this reason, the Communist Party argued that:

"PA.SO.K.'s strict principles related to discipline do not so much aim at creating a steely revolutionary organization, as they do at obviating any questioning of PA.SO.K.'s present leadership and its structures through the existing liberal relations." Or from another point of view, that: "In PA.SO.K. objections and differences of opinion are tolerated and democracy in the grass-roots is allowed to develop to the extent that it does not come into conflict with the views and policy of A. Papandreou."⁵⁷

The abolition of the cross indicating preference in the general elections reversed the traditional personal relation between the MPs and the voter and strengthened

significantly the role of Organization. The election of the MP did not depend any more on his personal acquaintances and on "illicit favours" but on his turn of priority in the list of candidates, which the Organization constructed. At the same time PA.SO.K. pointed out that "Parliamentary representation constitutes the everyday visible point of the Movement, the decisive support of the government of Change in Parliament."⁵⁸ For this reason, it took care to balance the relationship of the Parliamentary group with the Organization. The role and the influence within the Party of PA.SO.K's MPs were expanded since they were led directly by the President and basically by him alone. Thus, their rights were increased and safeguarded in the statute within the Organization (which laid down that they were entitled as of right to participate in the Party Congress).

The Left-Wing attacked this upgrading of the role of the Parliamentary group (K.O):

" The deification of the bourgeois 'democratic' institutions reaches its extreme point; the bourgeois elections are called to define the structure of a 'socialist' organization."⁵⁹

Through its exaggeration, this criticism reveals an even greater opposition of the K.K.E. to PA.SO.K. in relation to the element of ORGANIZATION. In the Communist Party the omnipotence of the Organization was indisputable. The members of the Parliamentary group (K.O.) according to the statute applied the political line of the Party. The high office they obtained was at the disposal of the Party. And even more "the salaries, compensations and pensions

which derive from the elected post are disposed according to decision of the competent Party organ."⁶⁰ In contrast, in P.A.S.O.K. a kind of autonomy of the Parliamentary group and a relationship of co-operation between the Party and the Parliamentary group (and not relations of subjection) were shaped. It is characteristic that in the article 65 of the second statute provision was made that among the 120 members elected by the Congress to constitute the Central Committee, 25 come from the Parliamentary group.

During the examination of the previous period {1974-81}, we have seen how the relationship between the LEADER and the Organization were formulated and how the particular role of the Party's President, A.Papandreou, was recognised. In this period {1981-85} through his undertaking governmental responsibilities, the distinguished role of A.Papandreou was strengthened and widened. His position in the government was really dominant. The reconstructions followed one another with frequency and made a great impression on the public. The Minister of Economic Affairs was informed of the withdrawal of his bill by the Mass Media and was obliged to resign. A.Papandreou never hesitated to strongly criticise publicly the government's work. Precisely here is the appropriate place for an observation made by Mouzelis who remarked that:

"as most of Papandreou's collaborators {MPs} lack an autonomous base of political patronage {unlike New Democracy MPs and those belonging to other bourgeois Parties} their political survival

depends,- in the final analysis -on their being in favour with the leadership."⁵⁷

The first Congress of the Party, which finally took place on 10th-13th of March 1984 - almost ten years after PA.SO.K's founding, explicitly recognised and silently confirmed the specific role of A.Papandreou in building the structure of the Organization. A specific chapter (the 9th), consisted of one and only article, referring to the Movement's President, the unlimited power of whom was recognised. (e.g. total representation of the Movement and facility in deciding on all matters, if the conditions did not allow the Executive Office - convoked only by him - to assemble). At the same time the President remained beyond every collective control of the elected bodies of the Organization. Finally, the re-election of A.Papandreou in the post of the President did not require any specific procedure; it was unanimously confirmed by the united voice of the assembly.

However, all this should not lead us to the acceptance of the view that:

"PA.SO.K's high impressive mass organization was and still is a passive creation of its leader"⁵⁷ or that "PA.SO.K = A.Papandreou"⁶¹

At the end of this period and while many people considered that the unique source of power within the Party was A.Papandreou, the reaction of Organization to the imminent preference of K.Karamanlis as candidate for the Presidency obliged Papandreou to change his decision and to propose Ch.Sartzetakis. Thus, it was evident that Organization was not simply "a lever of support" of the

government "and an organizational attachment" necessary for electoral success, it did have voice and power, since it managed to reverse the decision made by the LEADER.

Alternatively, we could say that a fluctuation was maintained in the relationship between Leader-Organization. And, of course, the position of the President remained significant and his role exceptional, but this did not mean that PA.SO.K. was thus converted to a personalized Party of the Leader. At this point the element of ORGANIZATION kept the meaning which it had acquired during the previous period as combination of a mass organization with principles and recognition of the specific role of the Leader. Here it is worth noting that in the period we are examining the members of PA.SO.K.'s Organization doubled from 110,000 in 1981 to 220,000 in May 1984 when the Congress took place. This number is especially impressive if we consider that the Socialist Party of Spain (P.S.O.E.) did not surpass 150.000 members, even though the population of Spain is triple that of Greece.

As to the relationship between the old Party members-technocrats and those of the Left tendency we may observe that the majority of the ministerial portfolios were distributed to the technocrats and the old Party members. The technocrats undertook the control of all the sectors related to economy, while the Old Party members were in charge of the state administration. The Leftists, finally were restricted to some "third category ministries with acknowledged symbolic value."⁶² (Deputy

Ministry of New Generation). This distribution corresponded to and at the same time maintained the balance which had been formulated in the relationship between the three tendencies during the previous period.

In the first 1 1/2 - 2 years of government the specific weight of the Old Party members was greater and this became evident through the direction of the government's economic and social policy (advantages to peasant, taxation relief of lower incomes, increase in pensions, but also reaction to the introduction of the tax of real estate, known as FAP). Ensuing, and in front of the unfavourable evolutions in the economic sector, the Technocrats tripped up the Old Party members, again giving way to the latter by the end of this period, because of the elections, where the Old Party members had indisputably greater experience. The Leftist tendency can be considered as having promoted some governmental initiatives which had special symbolic weight, such as the recognition of the National Resistance and the reforms in the legal code concerning the family. Besides, it became evident that the Leftist tendency continued to have serious influence on some sectors of the Organization {youth, some branches' organization}; this influence was also expressed in the evolution noted concerned with the preference as to the President of Democracy and the revision of the Constitution.

Thus, we could say that in this period as well the light balances, which had been formulated during the

previous period, were maintained, even with some fluctuations and thus the meaning of the element ORGANIZATION had not been modified as to this point.

New Democracy until 1981 was "a Party of Power". The State mechanism was at its disposal; it was its Organization. Government and Parliament members, through a network of clientelist relations, secured their re-election and their maintenance in power. When N.D. became the opposition, it found itself in a vacuum and started to organize. Rallis G. (who had replaced Karamanlis on the latter's election as President of Democracy - May 1980) had to resign after the electoral defeat of 1981 and E.Averoff became New Democracy's leader. Thus, he undertook to organise⁶³ New Democracy. His watchword was: "No village without New Democracy's flag." Within three years N.D. had managed to open 2,745 Local and Branches organizations and to have almost 300,000 members with a "Party-card".⁶³ The Organization of youth (O.N.NE.D) with 115,000 members, 60% of whom were students of Secondary Education, 20% students of Higher Education and 20% working people, proved to be the more active Organization. The participation of PA.SO.K's Organization in its rise to power awakened and stung N.D., which aimed at surpassing PA.SO.K. In its turn PA.SO.K., seeing N.D's activism, did not want to be inferior and more than doubled its members. Thus, we had an antagonism and an organizational confrontation between the two big Parties in this period.

In other words we could say that the oppositions

created during the first period through the articulation of the element of ORGANIZATION to PA.SO.K's discourse provoked the organizational response of New Democracy, which had as a consequence to change its physiognomy to some extent and to be converted from a personalised Party of the Leader to a Party with mass organization and with some principles. Besides, the abolition of the cross indicating preference by PA.SO.K. made it imperative that N.D. should turn towards its organization.

At the same time, PA.SO.K. obliged it to construct a programme for first time in its history. However, we should remark that N.D. reacted to the abolition of the cross indicating preference and promised to bring it back again when it come to power. Apart from these arguments this revealed that N.D. attached more importance to the traditional network of the clientelist relations than to the capability of its organization.

Thus, we could say that the oppositions created during the previous period as to the element of ORGANIZATION between PA.SO.K. and N.D. were blunted. On the contrary, the oppositions created between PA.SO.K. and K.K.E. remained and they were somewhat strengthened by criticism of the K.K.E. as to upgrading the role of the Parliamentary group by PA.SO.K. and the degrading noted in the role of its Organization. However, at the same time, we could observe that there was a blunting of the opposition between PA.SO.K. and the K.K.E. as to the sub-element of the Party's function since, on the one hand,

PA.SO.K. adopted the principle of "United View" in political practice, which tended to approach the principle "of democratic centralism" of the K.K.E.; and, on the other hand, the K.K.E. started to loosen its application of strict Party- discipline, allowing its official Party members to express different opinions publicly.

In comparison with the oppositions of the previous period, we observe that to the element of ORGANIZATION the opposition between GOVERNMENT and Organization was added; in this opposition the Government prevailed. Also the relationship between Organization and Parliamentary group remained balanced, while at the end of the previous period the Parliamentary group prevailed. At the same time, the characteristic of the two-way function was restricted by the application of the "United View" in political practice, thus blunting the corresponding opposition to the K.K.E. Also the articulation of the element of ORGANIZATION to N.D's discourse eliminated the opposition to personalized Parties. Finally, modification noted in the role of Organization {politicisation of the mass movement, support of the "attainable" and propagating the 'vision'} reduced still more the corresponding oppositions to the other Parties.

In conclusion, we would say that in and through PA.SO.K's practices in this period and their oppositions to the practices of the other Parties, the meaning of the element of ORGANIZATION was modified, reducing the meaning it had acquired during the previous period.

We come now to see the **TACTICS** applied by PA.SO.K. as much as by the other Parties and the oppositions created. Thus, we may understand if and to what extent the meaning of this element was modified within PA.SO.K's discourse in the period we are examining.

Through its rise to power, PA.SO.K. was called to articulate the tactic of the small steps to concrete practices. It is argued here that this tactic has been articulated to all the various practices of PA.SO.K. No section of its policy proceeded by total conflict or confrontation which would have been opposed by the existing relationship of forces, either at in the international or the domestic field, and would have led to the use of measures of violent imposition. But also, there was no section where changes were not made and some "steps" towards strategic targets were not noted.

New Democracy criticised these "steps" of PA.SO.K. for being "dangerous experimentations", for opening the "Aeolus⁶⁴ skins", as well as for introducing anti-Constitutional activities and it systematically voted against all the Laws promoting institutional changes. E.g. the Law on Associations was denounced as an attempt at "collectivization" and the Laws on the Supervisory Councils and the socialization of problematic enterprises as an attempt to overthrow the status quo of property, which was secured by the Constitution. That is, N.D. responded to the tactic of "small steps" by a tactic of "total negation" and

claiming that these Laws were extremely risky.

Faithful to its strategic option of the "United revolution procedure of transformation to Socialism" which distinguishes the stage of "the anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist democracy", "the democracy of the people" and the stage of "Socialism"⁶⁵ and even more faithful to "the vanguard role of the revolutionary Party of the working class, the K.K.E."⁶⁶, as far as this transformation was concerned, the Communist Party (K.K.E.) judged that PA.SO.K's "steps" were restricted "within the framework of modern manipulation of State-monopoly capitalism."⁶⁷ It criticised PA.SO.K. for its retreats, its going back on promises, compromises and "turns towards the Right" and projected itself as the only guarantor of "real change". Thus, the K.K.E. opposed the tactic of "stages towards real change" and revealed PA.SO.K's tactic of "small steps" to be a turn towards the Right.

PA.SO.K. argued that the contradiction which appeared between the tactic of N.D., which spoke continuously of risks, and that of K.K.E., which denounced PA.SO.K. for its Right turn, proved that its tactic had found a correct direction. It accepted, however, that delays had taken place and mistakes had been made, that the people and its agents had not been completely informed about "damage done the country in the past by the Right" and there was not a decisive dialogue with the mass movement "before the institutionalization of basic changes."⁶⁸

This self-criticism of PA.SO.K. confirms to some extent the observation made in another part of our study {examining the element of Popular Dominance} that the "small steps" did not always have the connection, the speed, the consensus-participation and the worthy use, which were included as dimensions of the meaning that the element of TACTIC had acquired during the first period and PA.SO.K. insisted that it maintained in this period as well.

Another tactic applied by PA.SO.K. in this period which we have already met is that of the relation between "attainable" and "vision". This tactic replaced the tactic of opposition "vision"/"existing" which it applied during the first period. Concerning the tactic "attainable"- "vision" we have spoken in detail during the examination of the element Organization and especially in the relationship Organization-Government; there we have noted that the Government had undertaken the realization of the "attainable" and the Organization of support at the same time propagating the "attainable" and the "vision".

New Democracy restricted itself to its chosen tactic of speaking about risks and did not make any specific response to PA.SO.K's "attainable"- "vision" tactic. Sometimes it spoke of deceiving the people and of PA.SO.K's "unworthiness of belief"⁶⁹, but this criticism referred more to Papandreou's manoeuvre as to the candidate for the Presidency.

In contrast, the K.K.E. placed its own critique of PA.SO.K's tactic -"attainable"- "vision"- within the

framework of its own tactic concerning the revelation of PA.SO.K's "Right turn", its conversion into a Social Democratic Party restricted to the modernization of the system and that indefinitely postpones the realization of the "vision".⁷⁰

These tepid confrontations of the opposition Parties to the tactic of "attainable"- "vision", which PA.SO.K. articulated to all its practices of this period, neither managed to decisively shake its persuasiveness and effectiveness nor to alter its meaning. PA.SO.K's power in the field of mass movements, apart from the students movement, became to some extent evident in this period through its maintenance and sometimes its increase.

However, especially in the field of mass movements, PA.SO.K. also applied another tactic; the tactic of "politicization" of the mass movement. While in the previous period it had adopted the tactic of "two-way co-operation" with the mass movement, in this period PA.SO.K. changed its tactic. The "politicization" of the mass movement meant for PA.SO.K.:

"the transformation of minor internal disputes and partial economic demands within the framework of a wider contesting strategy... towards the convergence and unification of the interests of the social forces of change." That is, that the mass movement should "elaborate integrated claims and propositions of convergence and concurring of the 'attainable' and the 'desirable', in order to formulate -and not to immobilise- the new perspectives and possibilities of the popular movement."⁷¹

We could say that the tactic of "politicization" of the mass movement was an extension of the tactic of

"attainable"- "vision".

N.D. and the K.K.E. criticised P.A.S.O.K. for making an attempt through this tactic to put the mass movement under "Party control" and under its "guardianship".

However, it seems that this tactic successfully overcame the opposition of the other Parties⁷², if we consider the reduction of the workers' activism {the 7.9 million hours wasted by strikes in 1982 reduced to 2.9 million in 1983 and to 2.7 million in 1984}⁷³.

The adoption of the tactic of total negation as to P.A.S.O.K. governmental action and the tactic of quoting "risks" led N.D. to abandon the mild political approach, which it had adopted during the 1981 pre-electoral period, and to follow the tactic of "polarization" and of the "hard confrontation" with the government. During the examination of the element of Social Synthesis we also referred to this tactic, since it aimed at uniting the forces of the Party and attracting voters from the extreme Right as much as from the field of the traditional Centre. P.A.S.O.K. adopted this tactic as well, especially after the election of K.Mitsotakis to N.D.'s leadership. P.A.S.O.K. proceeded with a personal attack on the leader of N.D., reminding the voters of his political instability and his role as a turncoat in 1965:

"To what Party, does Mr Mitsotakis belong? He betrayed S.Benizelos; he participated in the unyielding struggle against the governments of E.R.E. {National Radical Union, the Party which Mr Karamanlis had established}... He became the Hercules of the Crown and the Right Wing... In

1977, as leader of the Party of the New Liberals, he maniacally attacked K.Karamanlis... Today he is trying to seduce the whole people."⁷⁴

The voting of the electoral system of reinforced proportional representation by the two big Parties confirmed the adoption of the tactic of polarization; this system reduced the possibilities of small Parties being represented in Parliament; it promoted alliances and unifications and it strengthened the psychology of the "lost vote" (the feeling that voting for the small Parties will not count). This tactic was further strengthened through the development noted as to the question of the election of the President of Democracy and through PA.SO.K's position on the revision of the Constitution.

The Communist Party reacted and denounced this tactic as "footballization" of political life and as an attempt at "orienting the people away" from the serious and crucial problems of the country. It developed two tactics in order to confront this polarization: the tactic against the two big Parties, known as "dicommatismos" and the tactic of struggle on "two fronts". It claimed that:

"'Dicommatismos' -independently of which of the two Parties are in power- constitutes a form of government which today serves better anti-popular demands. 'Dicommatismos' has been tried. The change of governments from one Party to the other within its framework has been realised. However, the downward trend of our country has not been reversed."⁷⁵

Besides, it argued that:

"the existing differences in the character, the conceptions and the methods of exercising policy by PA.SO.K. and N.D. were more and more losing their significance as their policy on basic subjects was converging."⁷⁶

Thus, it justified the tactic of the "two-front" struggle as well; that is, of the struggle against both N.D. and PA.SO.K.

In contrast to this, PA.SO.K. followed the tactic of "one-front" struggle against the Right. Its manoeuvres on the questions of the President of Democracy and the revision of the Constitution was a clear opening towards the Left, which PA.SO.K. tried to widen and make worthy use of. For this reason it avoided using hard language against the Communist Party and directed its fire mainly against the Right. The frequent use of the term "Right" instead of the term "New Democracy" was aiming at reminding the public of the whole "guilty" past of this Party. At the same time, its strong tactic against the Right tended to show PA.SO.K. as the pre-eminently Left pole, thus casting the significance and the role of the K.K.E. into the shade.

On the other hand, in order to answer the "one-front" against the Right tactic of PA.SO.K., New Democracy applied a tactic of a "distance" from the Right. Mr Karamanlis himself at the first Congress of the Party described the schema Right-Centre-Left "as utopian and seductive" and he declared that N.D. was "uncommitted to dogmatisms and Messianisms and is keeping the possibility to resort to more fruitful each time solutions and even the more radical ones."⁷⁷ His successor E.Averoff particularly characterised this tactic through the propaganda-expression:

"New Democracy should not fall into the trap Right-anti Right, Left-anti Left, Marxist-anti Marxist,

Capitalist-anti Capitalist, Socialist-anti Socialist."77

However in his last speech to the Parliamentary group (7-8-1984) Averoff himself had to confess:

"I mark that we did not refute in time and with any overwhelming arguments the posters and the slogans of the opponent who labelled us under the term Right."77

We should also argue that the election of K.Mitsotakis as N.D's leader was related to the actualization of this tactic. That is, this was also an attempt to show that N.D. had kept a distance from the Right, since it had elected a person, who in the past had fought against the Right, as its leader.

However, despite its efforts, this tactic of N.D. did not have a particular effect. Its co-operation, eventually, with officials of the monarchist and pro-junta Wing and the stable presence of declared monarchist and ex-junta collaborators in its classes did not allow it to persuasively transform its profile. Particularly, the pre-election rallies of K.K.E. and PA.SO.K. never ceased to resonate the slogan: "People do not forget what the Right means".

Summarising and presenting schematically the oppositions created in this period in and through the articulation of the element of TACTIC to the discourses of the Parties, we have:

-Small steps enlisted within =/= Progress in stages
strategic targets,with popular =/= Total negation and
participation,proper speed and speaking of "risks"

use.

-Relation "attainable"-	"vision" =/=	Modern manipulation
		and Right about-turn.
-Polarization and of "one-front"	=/=	Breaking with the "two-
anti-Right struggle.		Party" system and "two-
		front" struggle.
	=/=	Polarization and
		distance from the Right
-Politicization of the mass	=/=	Guardianship of the mass
movements		movements
	=/=	Placing them under Party
		control.

By comparing these oppositions to those of the previous period we can note significant modifications. Only the first side of the first opposition {small steps...} remained unchanged. The rest had been modified on both their sides, while that of "Polarization and the one-front anti-Right struggle" appeared for first time. Thus, during this period we have significant modifications in the meaning of the element of TACTIC.

As we have seen during the examination of the previous period the element of **STATE** was one of the key elements in PA.SO.K's discourse and it acquired the meaning which we have presented previously. We will attempt now to understand the meaning which this element acquired in PA.SO.K's discourse during the period we are examining. We should remark here that many of PA.SO.K's practices, to

which we have already referred during the examination of the elements of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, POPULAR DOMINANCE and SOCIAL LIBERATION, related directly to the construction of the meaning of the element of STATE as well. For this reason, we shall attempt to avoid being repetitive and to dwell particularly on practices to which reference has not previously been made.

Thus, during the examination of the element of POPULAR DOMINANCE we referred in detail to PA.SO.K's governmental practices which were related to upgrading the representative institutions {Parliament, Local self-government and Trade Unionism} as well as to the creation of new institutions of direct democracy, popular participation and social control. Also, we have seen there the oppositions created by the reactions of N.D. and K.K.E. and the meaning which finally these sub-elements acquired within PA.SO.K's discourse during the period we are examining. Thus, here we will simply remark that all of the above practices are related to the form of representation of the State and that the basic deviations noted in relation to PA.SO.K's electoral promises were the non-establishment of simple proportional representation as a stable electoral system, the non-promotion of the Second and Third levels of Local self-government and the restricted institutionalization and activation of the institutions of Popular participation and social control.

PA.SO.K. tried to attribute these deviations to conjuncture. As to the electoral Law in particular it

argued that it remained firmly for a system of simple proportional representation "so that no political tendencies are excluded from Parliament", but it considered "the government's stability very significant, especially in countries with our own political experience" and that the countries which had governments of co-operation present " a stagnation of development of changes; a stagnation which would be dangerous especially for our country".^{7a} Its arguments also for the non-institutionalization of the Second and Third levels of Local Selfgovernment were similar, as they were for the restricted establishment and functions of the institutions of popular participation and social control. That is, PA.SO.K. was in favour of their institutionalization, but the presuppositions for their promotion had not yet been secured.

Through the upgrading of representative institutions and the establishment of the new institutions of popular participation and social control, a first break can be noted in the monopoly of representative institutions and State power, which had restricted social agents keeping them separate from the State and subject to it, as had happened with the "State of the Right". In other words, a beginning of socialization of the means of power was noted and this is the deeper meaning, which the form of representation of the State within PA.SO.K's discourse acquired in this period. That is, a meaning which maintains the basic characteristics it had acquired during the previous period, but to a relatively restricted degree.

Besides, we must point out that through this **rearticulation of the State to social agents** the presuppositions were shaped for a transition from the "society of individuals" to the "society of citizens", which was the most crucial coefficient in tracing a new model of social organization. As PA.SO.K's president pointed out, political society meant that "the majority of the people, through collective decisions and democratic procedures, commits the country's progress in concrete directions."⁷⁹ This meaning goes beyond that of formal representation. Of course, the new institutions⁸⁰ did not automatically transform "the society of individuals" into the "society of citizens"; However, they opened the way for progress to be made in this direction. This, we consider, is another dimension in the meaning which the **form of representation** of the State acquired in PA.SO.K's discourse.

The above meaning of the form of representation is also strengthened by the meaning which the **form of organization** of the State acquired in this period. Among the government's first concerns featured **Hellenization, decentralization and democratization of the State.**

All the civil servants who had been prosecuted, because of their political and social convictions, were restored; the Laws penalizing political views were repealed; secrecy in tele-communications was established; the penal punishment of torturers of the junta period was institutionalized and pro-junta officials who had remained in the State machine were dismissed; the Central Service of

Information (K.Y.P.) was entitled E.Y.P. (National Service of Information) and was reorganized having been put under the direct control of the Prime Minister.

As far as decentralization, support of technocracy and the lessening of bureaucracy were concerned, the following measures were taken: the Legal Council of the State -which had been transformed into an ineffective bureaucratic institution- was abolished and legal directions were organized in each Ministry; many jurisdictions were transferred from the Ministries to various locations in the Prefectures; the heavily staffed and extremely expensive councils were abolished, as were the different committees functioning in the Ministries, only some necessary ones being kept; the rank of Director-general was abolished in the public sector and jurisdictions and responsibilities were transferred to lower ranks, with a view to giving them greater responsibility and expediting procedures and to lessening the hierachical relations; common and united rules^{a1} for all the public sector were set up with a view to increasing effectiveness^{a2} and exercising social control in a better way; the participation of the representatives of the civil servants in the councils evaluating their in-service situation was increased and speedier promotion to higher ranks was established; finally, through setting up posts of specific counsellors, scientific personnel and the technocratic support of the central services and the prefectures were strengthened.

A form of complex, valid use of the new kind of representation and the new form of the State organization was realized through the institutionalization of **Democratic (social) planning**. Democratic planning related Popular participation to decentralization and it had first been applied in the construction of the Five-year programme for the economic, social and cultural development of the country. Two pyramidal organizations operate in close cooperation in Democratic Planning: the technical pyramid and that of popular participation. The organs of the technical pyramid give advisory services and the information necessary for final decisions to be taken by the organs of popular participation, by using social and other criteria. These two categories are related not only vertically but also horizontally at all the levels.⁸³

Democratic Planning, of course, met with many difficulties and obstacles and did not have an ideal form in its first application as we have already noted; officials of P.A.S.O.K. themselves recognised many weaknesses. A.Lazaris, for example, remarked that:

"the construction of the organs of popular participation was promoted one-sidedly and the technical side of planning was totally underrated."⁸⁴ And K. Simitis accepted that "such planning is still unattainable for our country. What has been done hitherto has shown that it has met with serious obstacles."⁸⁵

Following the tactic of total negation and of speaking of "risks", N.D. accused P.A.S.O.K.'s practices as to the change in the form of State organization of leading to "paralysis" and to "dissolution" of the State machine; of

going in the direction of excessive levelling, of absence of motivation and hence to a restriction of the productivity of the State sector through the lessening of hierarchic relations and the "uncontrolled promotion" of civil servants; of the organs of popular participation being slow and ineffective, because they were heavily staffed and heterogenous; of "deluging" the State sector with "expert" councillors, who constituted nothing more than agents of PA.SO.K's enterprise to put the State under the Party control. New Democracy even went so far as to accuse PA.SO.K. of "not being interested in Democracy but in establishing the one-Party State, and of holding onto power at all costs... PA.SO.K. created the State of the Party. The gigantic State. The State threat and enemy of the citizen."⁶⁶ Furthermore, during the debate in Parliament concerning the Five-year programme, N.D's representative declared that his Party would vote against it:

"because it is a third-world one and utopian. Because it is destructive of the Greek economy... because it aims at reducing and controlling the personal liberties of the citizen through Party control of the Greek economy."⁶⁷

These practices of N.D. as opposed to those of PA.SO.K. certainly exercised a restraining influence on the promotion of change planned by PA.SO.K. as to the form of representation and organization of the State. However, on the other hand, the total negation of N.D., its fury against PA.SO.K., the exaggeration and the threat of revanchism, which characterised these opposed practices,

led to a polarization and increasing adhesiveness of the Party's members and hence to the stable maintainance of the characteristics in both sides. Thus, they excluded the eventuality of a synthesis and hence of possibility of such a modification in the meaning of the form of representation or organization of the State in PA.SO.K's discourse.

The Communist Party recognised some progress towards democratization and decentralization and asked for greater and more decisive steps to be taken. It remarked that, despite PA.SO.K's declarations, the purging of the State mechanism did not proceed with completeness and that PA.SO.K. continued to maintain barriers in the Army and the Security Bodies. Without having rejected Democratic Planning, it emphasised weaknesses in active popular participation and in the effective application of the Five-year programme, as well as pointing out lack of mechanisms of effective supervision in carrying it out and evaluation of performance.^{ee} Besides, the K.K.E. was opposed to PA.SO.K's conception that activities of the private sector of economy could be enlisted within Democratic Planning.

"PA.SO.K's conception of a Planning 'for all', which would harmonize the competitive interests of monopolies and of employee's is utopian and disorientating."^{ee}

In response to these criticisms PA.SO.K. recognised, as we have seen, the weaknesses which Democratic Planning presented in practice as well as the deficiencies and delays in the promotion of organizational changes. It accepted that it did not manage bureaucracy and that the application of the institutions of social control did

not proceed at a satisfactory pace. However, it insisted that these significant steps towards Hellenization had been noteworthy: that is purging of the State machine, restoration of the politically percecuted to their posts, political control. Other advances were: democratization (abolition of anti-democratic Laws, weakening of authoritarian-hierarchical structures, securing of individual rights); decentralization (transfer of jurisdictions, upgrading of Local self-government); technocratic support (specific counsellors, introduction of new technology in the organization of the State), together with many, admittedly not entirely satisfactory, steps had been taken in restricting bureaucracy (simplification of procedures, abolition of various committees) and the establishment of social control (new institutions). All these facets of progress tended to formulate a **new form of organization of the State.**

In conclusion, we could say that, in and through PA.SO.K's government practices, the oppositions created by the other Parties and the way they had been faced by PA.SO.K; the form of organization of the State acquired in this period, the meaning of an organization which proceeded with **Hellenization, democratization, decentralization, a technocratic support, reduction of bureaucracy, tended to be under social control and Democratic {Social} Planning.**

However, let us see the meaning which the role and function of the State acquired. PA.SO.K's governmental practices analysed during the examination of the element of

SOCIAL LIBERATION and the oppositions created by the respective practices of the other Parties, were directly related to the functions of the State. Thus, the meaning which the element of SOCIAL LIBERATION acquired gives us to some extent the meaning of the form of function of the State. Also we will not therefore examine again PA.SO.K's governmental practices related to the abolition of discrimination and to lessening inequalities, nor to those concerning quality of life {work, health, housing, maternity allowances, youth, the elderly} nor even those related to creation and development of cultural life and respect for and protection of the environment, because we have previously presented them in detail.

Here we will only remark that the basic divergences from official policy noted in the role and function of the State in relation to PA.SO.K's electoral promises were: as far as the **economic function** was concerned, the non-socialization of the banking system⁹⁰ and of key, non-problematic private sectors, in the economy; the lack of severe punishment of tax evasion and of the parasitic economy and the increase in the public sector deficits. As to the **social function**, instead of "safeguarding employment, social security and housing for all", there was noted "improvement of the conditions of work, social security and housing" and instead of "abolition of social inequalities" there was noted "a lessening of social inequalities". However, these last modifications in the meaning constituted "small steps" towards the "intermediate

targets" and they cannot be considered as deviations. As far as the **cultural function** is concerned, the non-socialization of the Mass Media (which were all under the State control) and their restricted upgrading and democratization can be considered as deviations from PA.SO.K's promise. Finally, a "restriction of the destruction of the environment and no further deterioration of the ecological situation", instead of "protection and upgrading the environment" were noted.

New Democracy's criticism of PA.SO.K's practices related to the role and function of the State in swelling the State sector, which did not allow the free functioning of the market; the waste of public money and the swelling of the deficits in the State sector. Its response was "less State", privatization of public enterprises, control and restriction of State expenditure. K.K.E.'s criticisms referred to the non-integration of socializations, the absence any anti-monopoly, anti-capitalist direction; the lack of effective measures for punishing the parasitic economy and tax evasion, the privileges given to capital through the Law 1262/82 and the restricted redistribution of the national income.

PA.SO.K. responded that "the question is not how much state you have, but what this state does, what activities it organises and in what direction".⁹¹ That the solution was not privatization of the public sector, but modernization and increase of its competitiveness which, precisely, was pursued through socialization. That "less

State" projected by the Right Wing meant restriction of the social state and the free function of the market meant a return to the immunity of big capital. As to the critique by the K.K.E., this was confronted mainly within the framework of the relation "attainable - vision" and self-criticism {we have referred to these in other parts of our study} and through a counter-attack against the results coming from the role of the State in the model of existing Socialism.

To recapitulate and summarise, we could say that in and through the practices of P.A.S.O.K's government during the 1981-1985 period, the oppositions created and their corresponding political, social, economic and cultural references, the STATE acquired the meaning of an ensemble of institutions, mechanisms and functions where upgraded representative institutions co-exist with new -not wholly functioning- institutions of Popular Participation and Social Control in "a progress" towards socialization of the means of power and politicization of the society of individuals; which advances towards Hellenization, democratization, decentralization, technocratic support, reduction of bureaucracy, and tends to be under social control and democratic (social) planning. Further, within the framework of the "one-nation" strategy, it had the following role: the redistribution of material income in favour of the lower income strata through a transfer of resources from the urban centres to the countryside and through a change of the taxation system and the

establishment of A.T.A. (Automatic Readjustment to the cost-of-living Index) of salaries and pensions; the socialization of State enterprises; the abolition of discrimination through abrogation of the certificate of political beliefs, the recognition of the National resistance and the return of the political refugees from East European countries; the reduction of social inequalities through the increase of social salary; the upgrading and democratization of education; the improvement in the conditions of work, social security and housing; the modernization of family Law and the achievement of equality between the sexes; the relevant democratization and upgrading of the Mass Media, the free movement and competition of ideas; the upgrading of cultural life especially in the countryside with specific care for the maintenance of the Greek cultural identity; restrictions on the destruction of the environment and on further deterioration in the ecological situation.

In other words, we could say that the identity of the State in the previous period appeared to have acquired specific characteristics {Hellenization, socialization, democratization, decentralization, upgrading} while in the identity of the second period the acquisition of the same characteristics only appeared as being progressed forward. Besides, with reference to the targets which gave the meaning to the functions of the State in its previous identity, some had been fully realised and others partially, thus giving a corresponding meaning to the State functions.

That is, while in the previous period the identity of the State appeared somewhat closed and integrated, in the second period it appeared as open and dynamic on "a road of progress" towards obtaining the characteristics of the previous identity. However, the strategy of "one-nation", which had been articulated to the meaning of functions in the previous identity of the State, remained stable and unchanged in its new identity also.

ECONOMY is another central element in P.A.S.O.K.'s discourse which we may now examine as to whether it maintained or modified the meaning it had acquired during the previous period. When P.A.S.O.K. rose to power inflation was running at 25%; the deficit of the Balance of Trade had reached the 2.4 billion dollars; there was no increase in the G.N.P.; the deficit of the State sector had reached 15.5% of the G.N.P., unemployment and under-employment was on the increase; many private enterprises were "sunk in debt" and were facing bankruptcy. Joining the E.E.C., on the other hand, imperatively confronted the country with the problem of competitiveness at all levels of the economy. P.A.S.O.K. described this situation epigrammatically as one of "burnt earth".

The direct targets set by P.A.S.O.K.'s government were: the "stabilization of the economy and exit from the crisis", the "creation of conditions for economic recovery, in order to lay the foundations for self-reliant development" and the "establishment of new institutional changes through the participation of employees in the productive process."²

These targets were related to the characteristics

that the meaning of Economy had previously acquired in PA.SO.K's discourse (mixed economy, self-reliant development participation of employees and other social agents, democratic planning). However, they excluded the characteristic of "shaking off economic dependence" ("out of the E.E.C.", restrictions on foreign investments and external loans).

As we have seen in the pre-governmental period, PA.SO.K. had strongly projected dependence {politico-military, economic, cultural} as the basic reason for all sufferings that the country was facing. Thus, it had argued against joining the E.E.C. and in the "Contract with the People" it had declared that the government would ask for a referendum on this matter. When PA.SO.K. was in government from 1981-1985 however, although it continued to maintain that consequences of joining were negative, it argued without much explanation that leaving the E.E.C. would have even more unfavourable consequences than joining. Thus, it abandoned the "struggle to leave the E.E.C." and it replaced this with the "struggle within the E.E.C." to lessen the negative consequences that Greece's hasty-joining entailed. The acceptance on the part of the E.E.C. of a relevant Greek "Memorandum"⁹³ was now the direct target of PA.SO.K's government.

However, this about-turn -one of few actions of the government which N.D. saluted with satisfaction- broke the consistency and coherence of PA.SO.K's discourse, as the target of "shaking off economic dependence" ceased to

exist. According to what P.A.S.O.K. itself had declared, joining the E.E.C. meant that a part of National Sovereignty, of the People's right to decide its fate" was transmitted to the Brussels "Directorate"²⁴. But, then, how could progress towards "autonomous economic development"-which keeps being the target of the government- continue and progress towards "socialist transformation" be carried out, when a significant part of the decisions on the economic and the more general progress of the country would be made by a collective centre outside the country?

However, questions were not asked or, even if they had been, they were not projected either by the K.K.E. or by N.D.²⁵ and for this reason they did not constitute a subject of opposition. P.A.S.O.K. itself tried to close the schism in the discourse which withdrawal from its promise on the E.E.C. created. It argued it would fight within the E.E.C. for the prevalence of the tendency, which aimed at "a widened E.E.C." through "technological and wider developmental self-reliance" at "progress towards greater autonomy from the U.S.A. and towards creating the conditions for a Europe of working people". Further, that the evolution towards this perspective "would define our attitude concerning the defence of the social and economic programme of Change in our country."²⁶

In other words, since P.A.S.O.K. was no longer able to speak of "shaking off Greece's economic dependence", it spoke of "shaking off the E.E.C's technological and

economic dependence on the U.S.A." and of "a Europe of working people"; that is, of a socialist Europe and within this new vision "the course of change in our country" is then also enlisted. In this transformation of the vision we consider that PA.SO.K. had been helped by the discourse of the Communist Party {essoteriko}. In the period 1974-81, when PA.SO.K. and the K.K.E. had had the expression "NO to the E.E.C.", as their central slogan, the K.K.E. {essoteriko} was saying: "NO to the E.E.C. of the monopolies, YES to the Europe of the Peoples" and through this watchword it put itself in favour of joining the E.E.C. PA.SO.K. was now disarticulating the concept of "Europe of the Peoples" from the K.K.E. essoteriko's discourse and was rearticulating it to its own discourse, relating it to "maintenance within the E.E.C.", to the perspective of "the self-reliant development of the E.E.C" and with the course of "self-reliant development and Change in our country".

However, it seems also from the developments that followed that the K.K.E. had likewise started to understand that joining the E.E.C. was the "only way" for Greece. For this reason and because the K.K.E. aimed to cooperate more closely with the rest of the Left except PA.SO.K., which was in favour of the joining, it preferred not to sharpen the opposition on this subject. We should say that the role of the conjuncture became evident at this point, that is the pursuance of the co-operation of the forces of the Left in the country. The changes, which began to be

noted in East Europe, the new relationship between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., the appearance of M.Gorbachev and perestroika in the U.S.S.R., created a new conjuncture, which naturally contributed to the gradual shifting of the K.K.E.'s position as to the E.E.C. Thus, the "transformation" of this vision of PA.SO.K., which in our opinion was a very significant dimension of its discourse, passed without any particular oppositions, which would have disturbed its previous meaning.

Besides, we should notice that, apart from the deviations of its policy on the E.E.C., others could be seen on the subject of foreign investment and external loans. Investment was necessary for the achievement of economic recovery, reduction of unemployment and increase in productivity. However, investment had become stagnant even before PA.SO.K's rise to power. PA.SO.K's declarations on socialist transformation had created a climate of insecurity for capital.⁹⁷ Thus, the government in the beginning applied its programme on public investment, estimating that in due course a more favourable climate would be created and private investment would follow. In order to aid the creation of a favourable investment climate it also passed the Law 1262/82, through which provision was made for motives regarding regional industrial development, while keeping also the Law 2687/53, through which provision was made for the installation of foreign enterprises. Significantly, the government hoped that investments would come from the Arabic countries, but

in that point also the conjuncture of the international depression and the fall in oil prices seemed to influence developments. However, the government made great and continuous efforts to attract foreign investment, surpassing the Movement's declared positions concerning the relationship: foreign investments - dependence.

Furthermore, salary and pension increases, price control -particularly concerning the public services (electricity, telephone, water, transport)- and practicing a wider social policy in relation to tax relief for the salaried, pensioners and middle strata led to an increase in the deficits of the State sector, which from 15% in 1981 reached 19% of the G.N.P. in 1985.²⁸

The covering of these enormous deficits, the service of the old loan responsibilities of the country and the covering of the continuously deficient balance of payments, obliged the government to resort to new loans both domestically and abroad.

Thus, we could say that the sub-element "shaking off economic dependence" lost the characteristics of leaving the E.E.C., of the restriction of foreign investments and the external loans, which it had acquired during the previous period, totally reversing its meaning and correspondingly modifying the meaning of the element of ECONOMY within PA.SO.K's discourse in this period. Also this total reversion of the meaning of the sub-element "shaking off economic dependence" provoked a modification in the meaning of the sub-element "self-reliant economic

development". PA.SO.K. continued to insist on the use and the projection of this target, but now the most that it could connote was the valid use of the possibilities and resources of Greece within the framework of the developmental policy of the E.E.C.

As to PA.SO.K's governmental practices through which it tried to achieve its targets in the economic sector, apart from those we have referred to concerning the economic policy of the State²², we should mention the constitution of the Organization for Rehabilitation of Enterprises {O.A.E. Law 1386/83}, to which the heavily indebted and problematic private enterprises put their request for aid. That is, the State undertook their rehabilitation and recovery by appointing new administrative councils in which representatives of employees participated. Further, in some of these businesses a form of worker's-control was applied, since the employees undertook full responsibility for their administration.

The establishment of the institution of the Supervisory Councils {Law 1385/83} through which social control over branches of the private sector was introduced. However, it only applied to steel enterprises and the mines.

Incentives were given for productive investment and the creation of enterprises by Local self-government, the Associations and the popular base {Law 1262/82}. This was in addition to the Law 1541/85 for the development of

Cooperative Organizations in the production, processing and the marketing of products.

These actions of PA.SO.K. in the field of the Economy met with a strong reaction from N.D. Applying its consistent tactic of total negation, of polarization and citing "risks", which aimed at strongly concentrating its electoral base through the vision of its quick return to power, N.D. refused to recognise the value of any measure. Neither the constitution of the Organization of Rehabilitation of Enterprises, nor the programmes for the development of small and middling enterprises met with its agreement. It projected "risks" everywhere; risks in restricting private initiative, in extending the wasteful and ineffective State, risking "statization" of property and "collectivization" of the rural sector through the rural industrial associations¹⁰⁰, which PA.SO.K. had introduced. New Democracy's alternative proposition was "radical Liberalism", which, as the leader E.Averoff said, was "a system according to which Freedom as a means and aim is its objective target."¹⁰¹ For this reason N.D. spoke of "Liberation of the competitive functions of the market" which would ensure reduction in the cost of living and of inflation. It spoke of tax relief¹⁰², of the connection between payment and productivity. It promised "less State"¹⁰³, control of the State sector expenditure and privatization of the Public enterprises, in order to reduce the deficits and to find financial resources. Liberation of the Labour Market, strengthening of free negotiations

and the collective agreements for the specification of rewards also figured among N.D.'s proposals. Besides, it promised the freeing of the financial credit system for the development of healthy competition in the banking system and the reduction of the cost of money and, in the pre-election period, it even promised the abolition of taxes on new imported cars¹⁰³, by arguing that a reduction would thus be made in the exportation of exchange for buying spare parts which were necessary for the second-hand cars in circulation.¹⁰⁴

True, for the first time N.D. presented a kind of economic programme. This was the result of its attempt at obtaining the form of a contemporary Party with principles, organization and a programme. It was a bid to be in line with the new rules of the political game, to the formulation of which the successful presence of P.A.S.O.K. in the political scene of the country had contributed.

However, the above economic programme of N.D. was criticised by both¹⁰⁵ P.A.S.O.K. and K.K.E. The Secretary General of the K.K.E. underlined:

"The 'liberal' and the 'centrist' moves that N.D. is attempting to bring about must deceive nobody...It leaves untouched the repulsive face... of the oligarchy's total immunity and of one-sided austerity for the people, which its programme represents...Its oaths of belief in private immunity of one leader after another and the attacks on the State sector leave no room for doubt that here we have to do with the same Right, which continues its old anti-popular traditions and which intends to make its presence and role even more offensive."¹⁰⁶

The K.K.E. as we have repeatedly said recognised positive points in the government's policy and

simultaneously it criticised ¹⁰⁷ PA.SO.K. for delays, going back on promises and also for its retreats. The more general attitude of the K.K.E. as to PA.SO.K's practices in the Economy was possibly more characteristically expressed through the words of its Secretary General:

"with small improvements and half-measures the government is essentially led to going the road of manipulating dependent Greek capitalism...It does not lead to a real change."¹⁰⁸

PA.SO.K. argued that N.D.'s programme of "economic liberalism meant an unrestricted field for speculation, the dominance of the monopolist activities, naked exploitation by the network of compradorism, of trade only for profit, the middleman and parasitism. Its anti-Statism means giving the strategically significant State enterprises to private capital, restricting social expenditure. abandoning any self-reliant developmental strategy whatever."¹⁰⁹

At the same time, PA.SO.K. had also shown some positive results, its practices in the economic sector having proved successful. In 1985 PA.SO.K's government was able to point to a reduction of inflation from 25% to 16.5%, in combination with a significant increase in both the employee's income and that of rural people. There was a significant increase in both public investments, but also an increase in private investment (2.1%); for the first time in recent years there were positive indicators in the increase of the G.N.P. (3% in 1984, 2.3% in 1985)¹¹⁰. That is, PA.SO.K. had succeeded in simultaneously combining articulatory changes, recovery, redistribution of income with a reduction in inflation. Thus, it could maintain that it had succeeded in its three targets: Stabilization of the Economy, creation of conditions for recovery through

investment and the establishment of new institutions which promoted decentralization and participatory procedures. Also PA.SO.K. could show the application of M.O.P's {Mediterranean Integrated Programmes} which aimed at economic convergence of the community countries as a success of its "fight within the E.E.C.", since for their promotion it had exercised the VETO concerning enlargement of the E.E.C. {Portugal}.

The projection of these achievements concerning the Economy was very limited and controlled on PA.SO.K's part. The Prime Minister's expression, who spoke of "light at the end of the tunnel" is characteristic. During the pre-election period in 1985 this allowed PA.SO.K. to present the watchword "with PA.SO.K. for even better days" as one of its central slogans. Also, these achievements permitted it to successfully face the oppositions created by the N.D's economic programme and K.K.E's criticism.

Having said this, it becomes evident that in and through the practices of PA.SO.K's government and their oppositions to the discourses of the other Parties -in this period- the element of ECONOMY acquired in PA.SO.K's discourse the meaning of a system of mixed economy where the Public, the Private and the Social sector coexist and act competitively within the framework of democratic {social} planning; where the State sector was led gradually to socialization, the heavily indebted private sector became healthy and was rehabilitated through State care and the participation of the employee's, while some of its

branches were placed under social control, and the Social sector was encouraged to develop activities mainly at a regional level; where State social control was applied over prices and profits, and care was taken to redistribute the national income in favour of the lower income strata and the provinces; through a "national-centered" fight within the E.E.C. for the promotion of the economic convergence of E.E.C. members, on economic development of the country which was equal and balanced in all its parts and the creation of a Europe of the Working People.

Comparing the above meaning to the corresponding one of the previous period we may remark these modifications. The concepts of "shaking off economic dependence", "self-reliant economic development" and "socialization of the key sectors of the private economy" have been excluded and instead the concepts of the "national-centred fight within the E.E.C.", the "promotion of the economic convergence of the E.E.C. members" and the "creation of the Europe of the Working People" have been embodied.

Through the concepts of "economic convergence" and the "Europe of the working people", an attempt was made to somewhat close the rift which the exclusion of the concept "shaking off economic dependence" had opened by insinuating that dependence on the E.E.C. had not been adopted and a fight was taking place for a "convergence of economies", which for Greece meant improvement and development of its economy; and simultaneously a struggle was being conducted

for the "Europe of working people", which for Greece meant a continuation of the struggle for socialist transformation. Also, through the concept "national-centred fight within the E.E.C." an attempt was made to lessen the vacuum left by the exclusion of the concept of self-reliant economic development by declaring that Greece could also practice within the E.E.C. a national strategy of economic development. In this way PA.SO.K. made an attempt to keep the dimension of "Hellenocentrism", that its discourse had acquired during the previous period and to retain its opposition to "we belong to West" of N.D. As to the non-socialization of the key-sectors of the private economy as well as the restricted promotion of the social sector of the economy, of the institutions of social control and participation of employees, which created oppositions to K.K.E., PA.SO.K. projected the tactic of "small steps" in combination with conditions being unripe for socialism.

Thus, we could say that in and through the **disarticulations** and **rearticulations** realised in the discourse of the Economy in this period, PA.SO.K. managed to modify its previous meaning, totally reversing some of its characteristics and at the same time to rather successfully cover the breaks due to its inconsistency and to some extent to secure its harmonious articulation to the other elements of its general discourse, as we shall show later in our study.

We shall now consider what happened to the element

of EDUCATION or the Educational dicourse. PA.SO.K's government in the period 1981-85 projected a new institutional framework which embraced all the stages of education and all the sectors of the educational process. Through the Law framework for A.E.I. (Law 1268/82 for the Higher Education Institutions), it overturned the absolute authority of the professional establishment both in filling vacant university chairs-to which people were actually being appointed by hereditary right- and the organization and running of universities through the involvement of all university teachers and students in all the relevant processes. For the planning of educational procedure the E.S.A.P. {National Council of Higher Education} was founded and functions, in which representatives of universities, political and social agents participated. However, this Law met with difficulties and problems in its application and provoked a storm of reaction. Some of its clauses were judged unconstitutional and it was decided to modify then in order that its actualization might proceed. These irregularities reduced the merits of democratization and upgrading which this Law attempted to achieve in Higher education and it provided good reasons to the opponents of the change to fight it. However, the student movement recognised it as achievement¹¹¹ and we consider that if some people in the future attempt to transform its democratic and participatory character, they will face serious problems. Later, sympathetic criticism of this Law was made by professors of the university themselves.¹¹²

The Law setting out the framework for the Technological Training Establishments {T.E.I's} Law 1404/83, elevated the level of Technical and Vocational educational Institutions to the third level, university education, and connected them with the more general preferences for the country's economic development¹¹³. Through the founding and function of the Technological Training Council {S.T.E.} social control over the mapping of Technological educational policy was secured, since representatives of the associated ministries, confederations {Industry, Crafts, Professions}, students, teachers, workers, scientific associations and Greek industry participated in it. The Law setting out the framework for the structure and function of Primary and Secondary education {Law 1566/85} was passed and came into force immediately after the 1985 elections. However, because this bill had constructed and given publicity to informing the people and stimulating dialogue ever since January 1984 and because through this Law the institutional framework of all the stages of education was integrated, we have included it within the educational practices of this period.

The main axes on which the new structure and function of education ran according to this Law were three: **Administration, Popular participation, Scientific and Pedagogic support.** As to the administration, the administrative division of the country was followed and a significant decentralization of resources and jurisdictions to the regions and especially to Local self-government

could be noted.

Through the institutionalization of the instruments of popular participation, which were related at all levels to the axis of administration, democratic planning in education was at the same time introduced. Thus, the educational committee of the borough {Demos} and parish {Koinoteta} which consisted of the mayor {or representative} and representatives of parents, of educational administration and of professional organizations, introduced to Local self-government the subjects of education and distribution of credits. This educational committee was related to the school units, through the school committees and the school councils. Consisting of all school teachers and of the administrative council of the parents' association (in the Secondary education three representatives of the pupils' community participated also) the school council constituted a widened organ that supported the school. The school committee consisted of the headmaster, a representative of the borough and the president of the parents' association {in Secondary education, a representative of the pupils community also participated} and constituted an organ for dealing with any problem of function and which related the school to Local self-government.

In each prefecture, the prefectural committee of education functioned, {committee of the department, 'nomos'}. This committee consisted of the Prefect of the department or its representative, school counsellors of

Primary and Secondary education, the director of administrators of Primary education and that of Secondary education, representatives of: local self-government, the workers' centre of the department, the union of rural associations of the department, the pupil-parent federation, the teachers of Primary and Secondary education, Technological education, Private education, the cultural associations of the department, the prefectural committee of Popular Adult education and the administrative clerks of the Ministry of education who offered their services to the department. The prefectural committee of education studied and make recommendations on matters concerning education to prefectural council, based on the proposals made by borough or parish educational committees.

At a national level the National Council of education {E.S.Y.P.} was established, which consisted of the Minister of education or his representative; representatives of other associated ministries and of the parliamentary political Parties; of Local self-government, of social agents, of educationists, of representatives of the economy, of parents, of the Council of Higher education, of the Higher education Institutions, of the Technical education Council, of the Technical education Institutions and other Councils. The National Council of education introduced questions of educational policy to the government, also of further education and popular additional education.

To the axis of the support of education in scientific- pedagogic manner belong the following: the Pedagogic Institute, the Council of Primary education, the Council of Secondary education, the Council of Special education, the School Counsellors and educational personnel. The Pedagogic Institute consisted of specialists in all the branches of education and constituted the educational and professional powerhouse of the country; it was directly subject to the Minister of education and was related to educational practice through the school counsellors and the Higher education institutions. It studied and evaluated the results of educational practice; it researched and examined subjects of Primary and Secondary education; it framed and submitted proposals for mapping out educational policy, the use of educational technology, the programmes of the teachers' in-service training, it framed and suggested curricula for the schools of Primary and Secondary education; it formulated instructions for writers of text-books and proposed their approval; it co-operated with the school counsellors in the practice of their scientific task of guidance; it expressed its opinions about proposed Laws, Presidential acts and Decisions which framed regulations on educational subjects.

The councils of Primary, Secondary and Special education {S.P.E., S.D.E., S.E.E.} were small organs in which representatives of the State, of the scientific unions and associations of the relative educationists and special scientists -in the sense of technocrats-

participated. Through these councils an articulation of popular participation to a scientific attitude became successful and an interplay between the social and the scientific agents was secured. At the same time, they constituted the organs of technocratic support of democratic planning to which we have previously referred.

The school counsellors of Primary and Secondary education were instituted by the Law 1304/82 and replaced the institution of inspector.¹¹⁴ Through the institution of inspector many jurisdictions were concentrated in the same person: administration, inspection, guidance, supervision, disciplinary control. This concentration also meant a corresponding concentration of power, which in periods of crisis of democratic institutions (the first after the period of world war II and junta period) had been exercised in particularly authoritarian way and it made the institution of inspector synonymous with the high-handed attitude, oppression and anachronism. Through the establishment of the institution of school counsellor¹¹⁵, the jurisdictions of the inspector were decentralised; the school counsellor only kept the function of guidance {scientific - pedagogic} and of teachers' appraisal {in the form of participation}, while this institution was strengthened by similar jurisdictions: participation in in-service training for teachers and in the encouragement of scholarly research. The school counsellor neither carried out administration nor supervision, nor even disciplinary control. These jurisdictions were exercised by a separate

person: the superior of the educational office. Through this separation of functions we have not a typical decentralization of jurisdictions, but an essential shifting of weight from administration and inspection to the scientific-pedagogic guidance, which resulted in a change in the relations between the participants in the educational process.

If we take into account that the selection for the post of school counsellor and the superior of the educational office {as well as the headmaster and deputy-headmaster} takes place every four years and a re-appraisal follows to scrutinise their continued fitness for the post-while the inspectors were permanent- and that the rank of the school counsellor is higher than that of the superior of the educational office, it becomes evident that the change in the relations that these establishments entail is one of democratization, the lessening-if not elimination-of severe hierarchical relations and the qualitative upgrading of education.

Specific innovations and changes noted in education and contributing education acquiring its meaning can be referred to as the following:

The introduction of instruction in foreign languages in Primary school, physical education, music and art and craft subjects by specialised teachers instead of the form-teacher, and the instruction of the subjects of Sociology and Political economy in the Secondary education. (Law 1566/85)

Through the same Law (1566/85) the Unitary Multilateral Lyceums ¹¹⁶ were founded. By these a link was forged between General and Technical-Vocational education and pupils were given the possibility of learning the productive process, of becoming conscious of their potentialities, abilities, so that they could either proceed to higher education {University education} or to production, through choosing subjects of specialization in the school. However, the previously existing kind of Lyceums remained.

Through the Law 1566/85 provision was made to strengthen teaching {in the remedial sense} within the school to pupils with learning difficulties. The function of Post-Lyceum Centres¹¹⁷ in free preparation of Lyceum graduates for entrance examinations to Higher and Technical-Vocational education establishments {A.E.I's and T.E.I's}. These measures aimed at restricting private education and tuition {para-education} in addition to offering equal opportunities to all pupils and reducing the obstacles in education. For the same reasons, the entrance examinations at the Gymnasium {lower high school} to continue to the Lyceum {upper level of the high school} were abolished {Law 1351/83} and the system of entrance examination to Higher education was changed also giving candidates the chance to take examinations in their home town.¹¹⁸

New Analytical Programmes {Curricula}¹¹⁹ and new textbooks for Primary and Secondary education and -for

first time- Analytical programmes for the Technical-Vocational Lyceums and Technical-Vocational Schools were made. Each pupil's book was for first time accompanied by the corresponding teacher's book, where methodological and other instructions were given for a more worthwhile use of the pupil's books and a more effective¹²⁰ approach to the teaching. Through the New Analytical Programmes attempt was made at globally dealing in a unified way with the subjects of the syllabus, methods, objectives and teaching targets according to the contemporary findings of the pedagogic sciences.

The pedagogical studies for the teachers of Primary education were upgraded through the abolition of Teachers' training colleges (offering two-year post-Lyceum courses for the training of primary teachers) and the establishment in their stead of university education departments¹²¹ (offering four-year post-Lyceum teacher training courses). Besides, the teachers' in-service training¹²² was reorganised. For first time pre-service training of newly appointed teachers was defined as compulsory, while the teachers' in-service training was related to the Higher education institutions. Also new universities were founded (Thessaly, Aegean, Ionian) offering courses in traditional as well as fresh areas of education, so that decentralization of Higher education took place.

The teachers' staff in each school was recognised as an organ of administration and of running the school, apart from the headmaster and the deputy-headmaster. Also,

new institutions were established for the organization of the pupils' life: pupils' communities and school associations. Through these institutions, the pupils developed a sense of responsibility, exercised themselves in democratic procedures, participated in running the school, contributed to the development of a rich school life and developed relations between their school and the social agents (e.g. Local self-government).

The significance of Special education (Law 1566/85) was recognised and co-ordinated measures for dealing with the problem of children with specific needs were taken. Special classes in ordinary schools and special schools were founded.

Finally, the complete Health care of students in addition to interest-free loans and grants to cover their educational needs were institutionalised and applied.

Following its consistent tactic of total negation and of citing the risks involved, N.D. voted against all the bills, which P.A.S.O.K's government brought before Parliament to change the institutional framework of education. Frequently, N.D. declared that it would abolish them as soon as it came to power. It accused the government that through the Law on A.E.I's P.A.S.O.K aimed at making a radical break in education and putting Higher education under Party control; that through the abolition of the institution of inspector and the loosening of hierarchical control, dissolution and a dangerous levelling would come about in Secondary and Primary education,

further that through the abolition of Lyceum entrance examinations the level of the pupils education would be degraded; and that all motivation of the pupils and the teachers to increased effort was missing. N.D. claimed that through these institutional changes of PA.SO.K. it was promoting socialist transformation in the field of education; and that the new Analytical Programmes and text-books were characterised by an ideological one-sidedness; and that they restricted initiative and freedom in teaching; that the pupils were restricted to the monopoly of "one book" for the whole country. Besides, N.D. particularly criticised the method of selection of different education officials {school counsellors, superiors of the educational offices and education administrators, headmasters and deputy-headmasters of the schools} where one of the criteria was also social activity. N.D. accused PA.SO.K. that it had attempted to capture the field of education by promoting its official Party-members.

The Communist Party denounced PA.SO.K. by declaring that the institutional changes were "timid" and did not realise its own electoral promises. It asked for greater and more effective participation of students in the administration of the A.E.I's and offered wider and more effective jurisdiction in the instruments of Popular participation. It observed that many of these organs were loaded down with personnel and this made them slow-moving and ineffective. It accused PA.SO.K. of going back on its

promise to abolish private education and tuition (known as para-education) and the failure to establish compulsory nursery. The K.K.E. argued that, in order to change Secondary education in an essential manner, the other types of Lyceum should be abolished and only the Unitary Multilateral Lyceums should remain. Further the K.K.E. maintained that the nine-year period of education should be institutionalised and the distinction between Primary school and Gymnasium abolished. As to the Law 1566/85, it pointed out that this demanded a great number of Presidential acts and Ministerial decisions. On the one hand, the non-issue of these decisions led to the postponement of the application of many Acts and on the other hand, it authorised the Minister of education to exercise his legislative function, which meant concentrating power and strengthening executive power. Besides, K.K.E. accused P.A.S.O.K. that through the new Analytical Programmes and textbooks a kind of "technocratic control"¹²³ had been imposed.

From another point of view, the traditional Left put little emphasis on the nature and the content of education and thus, "it failed to offer a viable and coherent theoretical or practical alternative. This became especially evident when various aspects of the programme and a number of pedagogic sides of the bill were discussed."¹²⁴ Mainly for this reason, it insisted on a generous increase in education expenditure because without this, whatever institutional changes there were would be

ineffective.

However, we should point out that the K.K.E. recognised that the new institutional framework was moving in the direction of democratization, decentralization, upgrading of education and reduction of inequalities. Its criticism implied a demand for more democracy, decentralization, upgrading etc.

PA.SO.K. met this opposition through its well-known tactics of "small steps", the "attainable" and "self-criticism", but at the same time, a dynamic projection of its actions dealing with the situation of the "point of departure" and counter-attacking its opponents' practices.

PA.SO.K. denounced N.D., claiming that it characterised the purging of university education of "illegal favours" and favouritism as "disorganization" and that it called the democratization attempt as "Partyzation" (attempt to put university under the Party control). PA.SO.K. accused N.D. of fighting hopelessly to maintain the establishment of lethargy and conservatism in education, but times had changed and PA.SO.K.'s government together with the People proceeded with stable and irreversible steps on the road of change, education being the cornerstone of change. It accused N.D. that it had imposed obstacles and discrimination the abolition of which now angered it, and that its mentality was interwoven with disciplinarianism, oppression, strict hierarchical structures and the control of the political beliefs. For this reason New Democracy could not tolerate

the wind of freedom which was blowing or understand the new relations of co-operation, consensus, participation and responsibility that had been established. Consequently, New Democracy spoke of "disorganization" and "dissolution". PA.SO.K. asserted that New Democracy was attached to old-fashioned conceptions of the role and value of examinations without even taking into account their social dimension.

In reply to K.K.E.'s criticisms, PA.SO.K. argued that the abolition of the private education and tuition (para-education) would come about gradually through the upgrading of state education, the availability of remedial instruction and the function of Post-Lyceums Centres.¹²⁵ As far as the establishment of generalized nursery education was concerned this remained PA.SO.K.'s target, but it would be completed in stages. The foundation of Unitary Multilateral Lyceums would be realised where the conditions were ripe, but for number of reasons (Geographical, social e.t.c.) it was not possible to establish these as the sole form of Lyceums. With regard to the nine-year education period of formulation of integrated Analytical Programmes (curricula) was the significant step and this came about through the cooperation of the relevant committees of Primary and Secondary education within the framework of the Pedagogic Institute. Concerning the technocratic control which was imposed through the new Programmes and the text books, the argument was not supported, since it was explicitly said

that the methodological suggestions made were only indicative and should not prevent teachers from using their initiative. Finally, concerning the Presidential Acts which would be issued according to the Law, PA.SO.K. argued that they would be issued after relevant dialogue with the interested parties and it was impossible to include all the details of regulations within an Institutional Law. On the other hand, it accepted that expenditure for education should be greater, but the existing increase had already¹²⁶ stretched the limits of the tolerance of the economy.

From the presentation of PA.SO.K.'s government practices and the oppositions created it is evident that PA.SO.K. aimed at and - to a significant degree - succeeded in reducing the obstacles and the inequalities in education. The abolition of the entrance examination from the Gymnasium to the Lyceum, the abolition of advanced examinations in the elementary school and the Gymnasium, the change in the entrance examination in the A.E.I.'s (Higher Education), the establishment of remedial teaching within the school, the free preparation of candidates for the A.E.I.'s in the Post-Lyceum Centres and the care of children with special educational needs were measures which actualized this aim.

Furthermore, it succeeded in reducing severe hierarchical structure and in converting the prevailing authoritarian relations to those of co-operation and mutual respect between the educationists as well as

between educationists and pupils. The abolition of the inspector, the institutionalization of the school counsellor, his non-permanent status and manner of selecting headmasters, the upgraded role of the school teachers associations, the new teaching methods, the new textbooks, the participation of the pupils in school decision-making and the operation of the organs of popular participation all contributed to reducing inequalities and obstacles.

These practices were the result of the antagonistic relationship to the practices of the other Parties. We can thus say, that **democratization** was one of the characteristics which education acquired and this was something that all those who were in touch with education at any level would understand. Some even argued that education had become too democratic.

Further decentralization was significantly promoted. Through the jurisdictions transmitted to prefects and the directors of the regions, the jurisdictions of the Ministry were restricted to plotting out the general guidelines and to dealing with every general matters. However, the decentralization of resources and jurisdictions to Local self-government was especially significant. The K.K.E. actually claimed that it was not a matter of transmission of jurisdiction but of transmission of responsibilities, which shows exactly the degree of decentralization that had been attained. Another form of decentralization was realised through the application of

Democratic Planning, where educational matters were discussed by all the organs of popular participation and their propositions were pushed forward to higher levels. Decentralization also took place through the foundation and function of regional A.E.I's and T.E.I's {Higher and Technological education Institutions}. Thus, a second characteristic that the element of EDUCATION acquired was **decentralization**. The upgrading of Primary education was more significant and evident than in the higher stages of education. The introduction of new lessons {subjects}, new Analytical Programmes and new teaching methods combined with elevation of the Primary education teacher-training to university level {Higher education} and the reorganization of their in-service training constituted characteristics of a qualitative **Upgrading of education**.

PA.SO.K. argued that the new institutions introduced in education did not constitute any imitation of some foreign model from East or West. They were based on the principle that education was a matter of all the people and for this reason it aimed at making the people participate in the planning of education and the solution of its problems. The kind of education, the values, its content and objectives were not defined high-handedly, but were based on the values and traditions of the Nation and the People and on the wider social and economic Greek conjuncture.

In article 1 of the Law 1566/85 where the aim of

Primary and Secondary education was stated. reference was made among other things to the fact that General education helped the pupils to defend National Independence, the country's territorial integrity and democracy. The Law referred "to inspiring pupils with a love of humanity, life and nature and with a feeling of faith in the homeland and in the genuine elements of the Orthodox Christian belief...; being informed about and active in the right and valid use of the merits of contemporary culture, as well as the values of popular tradition..."

The spirit of this aim was actualised through the new Analytical Programmes and books. Material which was considered as outdated and old-fashioned was taken away and new ones were added, according to the principle that the Analytical Programme should:

"aim at the as much as possible knowledge and deeper understanding -on the part of the pupil- of himself, the social and bio-physical environment and his position within it."¹²⁷

The new syllabuses came from the "glorious" past but also from recent and contemporary struggles and the situations of the Nation and the People as well as from contemporary achievements of human beings in the Sciences and Arts.

Thus, we can see that in and through PA.SO.K's educational practices in their antagonistic relationship to the practices of the other Parties, in this period, {new institutions, aim of the school, new Analytical Programmes and textbooks} an attempt was made to imprint education not only with a Hellenocentric physiognomy and content but

also with a **Hellenocentric** direction.

However, what we consider predominantly characterised the meaning which education acquired in this period was its **rearticulation to society** -in the sense of social agents- ; the school stopped being detached and isolated from society. Through the corresponding organs of popular participation a **new articulation between social agents** {parents, Local self-government, agents from production} **and educational agents** {teachers-pupils} took place. At the borough or parish level a new articulation was realised between social agents, education and State representatives through the relative committees. The same articulation was repeated at prefectural level {Prefectural committee of education} through the addition of the scientific/technocratic agents; as well as at the national level, National Council of Education {E.SY.P}.

We observe that the participation of parents and pupils was quantitatively and qualitatively greater and stronger at the school level and through this participation the school was related to the society of the neighbourhood, the village or the city. The participation of the teachers was permanent and stable from the school unit to the national level and this constituted an indication of the role which they could develop within these new institutions as far as the content of studies and the quality of education was concerned. The higher the level, the correspondingly greater the social agents' role. The participation of the scientific {technocrat} agents was

more intense at the national level, where their knowledge was more necessary for final decisions to be made; the same happened with the participation of the government, where in the National Council of Education it constituted 1/3 of the participants, so that the activity of the Ministries responsible for educational matters would be co-ordinated.

Having said this, it becomes clear that the element of EDUCATION in and through PA.SO.K's governmental practices and the oppositions created by the practices of the other Parties maintained to a great extent -in this period- the meaning it had acquired in the previous period within PA.SO.K's discourse and it had the following main characteristics achieved to a significant degree: **socialised**, in the sense of rearticulation of its relation to social agents through the organs of social participation, **decentralised**, **democratic** (without obstacles, severe hierarchical structures, authoritarian relations), **upgraded**, **contemporary and Hellenocentric**. We can even say that the element of EDUCATION maintained its meaning more than any other of the elements of PA.SO.K's discourse. Possibly for this reason governmental action in the field of education was particularly projected during the pre-election period in 1985 and was called by PA.SO.K. the "peaceful revolution".

Democracy — Popular Participation — Hellenocentrism — Decentralization — Upgrading

TABLE III
GRAPHIC TABLE OF ARTICULATION OF THE KEY ELEMENTS
WITHIN PA.SO.K.'s DISCOURSE (1981-1985)

SOCIAL SYNTHESIS

E.L.E., multifarious-non privileged =/= Class representation
Equivalent social alliance =/= Alliance under one class hegemony
People (with concrete national, =/= Dominant class (conservative
political, social & cultural cha- and authoritarian
racteristics gained through struggle) establishment)

ORGANIZATION

Party with principles with a =/= Party vanguard of the
leader in a protagonistic role working class
Party self-reliant & autonomous =/= Joining of Party & state
in relation to state & society
Democratic fuction & united view =/= Monolithic view and
in the political practice democratic centralism
Party aiming at politicization of =/= Dependence of the mass
the mass movements movements on the Party

TACTICS

Correlation between "attainable" =/= Modernising manipulation
and "vision" & about turn to the Right
Small steps, related to strategic =/= Progress in stages
targets, with popular participa- =/= Total negation & citing
tion, proper use and speed of "risks"
Polarization & one directional =/= Rupture with the two-Party
anti-Right struggle system, two-directional fight
=/= Polarization, distance from the Right
Politicization of the mass =/= Guardianship of the m. movements
movements, propagating the "vision" =/= Control of the Party
and supporting the "attainable" over the mass movements

SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

Greek third ROAD to socialism =/= Existing Socialism
=/= Social Democracy
Multi Party system =/= One-Party system (dictatorship of prolet.)
Democratic (social) planning =/= Central planning
Democratic procedures =/= Authoritarian imposition
Socialization =/= Nationalization (statization)
Small, sensible, methodical =/= Disconnected, neutralized
interrelated steps changes
Decentralization =/= Overcentralism
Popular participation =/= Simple secure of electoral majority

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

"Greece belongs to Greeks" =/= "We belong to West"
Temporary maintainance NATO =/= Here and now rupture
and U.S. bases =/= Maintainance NATO-US bases without limits
National-centrist struggle within
EEC for independent Europe of the w. people =/= Out of the EEC
Hellenocentric foreign policy & participation =/= West or East-
in international initiatives in disarm.-peace oriented polic
Fighting alongside Cyprus =/= Standing (simply) by its side

POPULAR DOMINANCE

Power from the People, for the =/= ... IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE
People, WITH THE PEOPLE =/= ... by the VANGUARD PARTY
Upgrading of the represent- =/= Reinforcement of the executive
ative institutions (r.i.) power & degrading of the r.i.
New institutions of popular =/= Pre-existed r.i. only
participation & soc. control =/= One-Party Statism

SOCIAL LIBERATION

Lessening of exploitation & alienation =/= Silence & indifference
Lessening of social =/= Fluctuating maintenance of social
inequalities inequalities
Improvement of the quality =/= Strengthening
of life of consumerism
Cultural life & development based =/= Based mainly on the imi-
mainly on the National-Popular cul. tation of foreign models
Respect & protection =/= Lack of care & exploitation of it
of environment

ECONOMY

Mixed: State, Private, Social =/= Privatization or Nationaliz-
ation of the means of production
Democratic planning & decentralization =/= Central planning
National-centrist struggle within EEC =/= Leaving the EEC
for economic convergence of its members =/= Eurocentrism
Balanced economic development =/= Distorted econ. development
Participation of employees and social Nationalization
agents in the socialization of the state =/= of the private
sector & recovery of problematic business sector

STATE

On a road to its socialization =/= State of the Party and
and politicization of society statization of society
Co-existence of upgraded r.i. with Only representative
new institutions of popular parti- =/= institutions control-
cipation & social control led by the Party
On a road to decentralization =/= Overcentralism and
and technocratic support Party options
Lessening of bureaucracy and =/= Bureaucratic system and
hierarchical structures severe hierarchical structur
On a road to Hellenization =/= Superficial purging & seizure
& purging the state from of the state machine by the
the Party members Party members
Democratic (social) planning =/= Liberalism - Central planning
Socialization of the public =/= Nationalization of economy
enterprises (D.E.K.O.)
Redistribution of national =/= Capitalist accumulation and
income increase of soc. inequalities
Increase in the social salary =/= Commercialization of the
(Health, social security, housing) social welfare
Democratization & upgrading =/= Authoritarian obstacles in
of education education, degrading
Abolition of political and =/= Discrimination of the citi-
gender discriminations zens in 1st & 2nd category
Upgrading of cultural life, =/= Cultural activity in hands
maintenance of cul. identity & of private initiative
relevant upgrading of the m.m. & st. control over the m.m.
Restriction of the ecological =/= Exploitation & destruction
destruction of the environment

EDUCATION

Rearticulation between education =/= Detached from society
& society (through the Organs =/= Organ of the state
of popular participation)
Decentralised =/= Centralised
Democratic (without barriers =/= Minimally democratic
& authoritarian relations)
Upgraded and modern =/= Degraded & out-of-date
Hellenocentric =/= West-centrist or East-centrist

TABLE IV
DIFFERENCES OF THE KEY ELEMENTS OF PA.SO.K's DISCOURSE
BETWEEN THE TWO PERIODS

PRE-GOVERNMENTAL PERIOD
(1974-1981)

GOVERNMENTAL PERIOD
(1981-1985)

SOCIAL SYNTHESIS

No difference in the meaning of this element

ORGANIZATION

- Self-organization <- -> ----
- Party OF PRINCIPLES <---> - Party WITH PRINCIPLES
- Democratic, TWO-directional <- -> - UNITED view in political function practice
- Party BESIDE & TOGETHER <- -> - Aiming at POLITICIZATION of the mass movements with the mass movements

TACTICS

- OPOSITION "vision" - "EXISTING" <- -> CORRELATION "vision" - "ATTAINABLE"
- CO-OPERATION with m.movements <- -> POLITICIZATION of m.movements
---- <- -> - Polarization & anti-Right fight

SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

- GREEK THIRD road to SOCIALISM <---> Greek third ROAD to Socialism

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

- OUT of NATO & WITHDRAWAL US bases <- -> Temporary maintenance
- OUT of the EEC <- -> National-centrist struggle WITHIN the EEC
- Hellenocentrist, multi-dimensional <---> ... & participation in international initiatives foreign policy in disarmament & peace

POPULAR DOMINANCE

Maintenance of the meaning at the level of small steps and intermediate targets

SOCIAL LIBERATION

- Abolition of exploitation & alienation <---> Lessening of ...
- Abolition of social inequalities <---> Lessening of social ...

ECONOMY

- Self-reliant, equal in all parts <---> Towards equal in all parts & balanced economic development & balanced econ. devel.
- Shaking off economic dependence <- -> Nationalcentrist fight within EEC & fight for economic convergence
- Participation of social agents <---> Participation only in the in all the phases of the state sector & the recovery productive process of the problematic businesses

STATE

- Simple proportional <- -> System of reinforced proportional representation system representation
- Decentralization & lessening <---> On a road to decentralization of hierarchical structures & lessening of hierarch.struc.
- Hellenization & non-seizure of <---> On a road to Hellenization & the state by the Party members purging the state of the P.m.'s
- Protection and upgrading <---> Restriction of ecological of the environment destruction

EDUCATION

Maintenance of the meaning at the level of intermediate targets

SYMBOLS: <- -> Modification of the meaning (change)
<---> Slight difference in the meaning

2. "Vertical articulation of the key elements within PA.SO.K's discourse in the period 1981-85

During the examination of the previous period we have seen that the dimensions of meaning that the elements acquired through their articulation to PA.SO.K's discourse were mainly expressed through the concepts of **Democracy, Popular Participation, Decentralization, Upgrading and Hellenocentrism** by operating as channels of transferring and acquiring meaning, rendering intelligible its elements as well as the discourse in general.

Now we will turn our attention to changes or modifications that came about in the various dimensions of these concepts because of the modifications noted in the characteristics of the elements also due to their inner articulation in order to understand the extent to which the whole PA.SO.K's discourse had been modified. The graphic table, which gathered the more significant differences that the elements of PA.SO.K's discourse presented between pre-governmental and governmental periods will help us to do this.

However, before we proceed with the examination of modifications in the meaning of the central concepts, we deem it necessary to make some initial remarks resulting from a first scrutiny of the graphic table.

We may point out that in this table, as well as in that of the previous period, the blue {prevalently} and the

red arrows shared the first position as to number. Thus, the concepts which continue to prevail in the articulation of the elements of PA.SO.K's discourse were Democracy {blue} and Popular Participation {red}.

A second observation that the greater concentration of arrows in number and variety of colours is observed in the sub-elements "small steps", "new institutions" and "democratic planning" and this is something which had not happened to the same extent in the table of the previous period. This reveals that these partial practices acquired some particular centrality in this period. Indeed, during the "horizontal" examination of the key elements of PA.SO.K's discourse we remarked that the tactic of "small steps" was applied for the realization of intermediate targets in almost all sectors of PA.SO.K's governmental activity. Further, we have seen that "new institutions" were founded and operated in many domains and that "democratic planning" was applied to formulate and examine the performance of the five-year programme of economic, social and cultural development, thus, combining and making valid use of the new institutions as well as of the tactic of "small steps". Thus, on the one hand we may note that these three political practices were closely articulated between them and on the other hand that they had an especially strong presence within PA.SO.K's discourse in this period.

In addition from the observation of the table of differences and following our remarks during the

examination of "horizontal" articulation of the elements, we may observe that the elements ORGANIZATION, TACTICS, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE and ECONOMY presented more significant differences and, consequently, we may conclude that these elements modified their meaning. The differences presented in the elements STATE, POPULAR DOMINANCE and SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION were mainly due to the non-achievement of the proposed intermediate targets, while the remainder of the elements presented even smaller differences, retaining their meaning at the level of intermediate targets.

In table 4 we may remark that, in the pre-governmental period, PA.SO.K. appeared as the Party "of principles" while, in the governmental period, it appeared as the Party "with principles". This constitutes a slight, but significant distinction. The declaration of the 3rd of September e.g. states:

"The fundamental principle of the Movement is that of absolutely secure democratic procedure -right from the base to the leadership- with absolute equality in the rights of all the members, which will become its staff" and furthermore "all the people demand principled political organizations." (see appendix one)

That is, PA.SO.K. started as a Party of principles and its founding principle was that of democratic procedure. However, we have seen that in the course of PA.SO.K's development, democratic procedure was sometimes retained and sometimes not. This means that it functioned also WITH the principle of democratic procedure, but it did not have democratic procedure as the PRINCIPLE. The same happened as

well to other of its principles. Thus, from a Party OF principles it was converted to a Party WITH principles. It becomes clear that this distinction entails a restriction of the meaning which democracy had acquired within the element of ORGANIZATION. Also, the meaning of Democracy underwent a restriction through the replacement of the sub-element "democratic and two-directional function" by the sub-element "democratic function and United View in political action". The analysis of this restriction took place during the "horizontal" articulation of the elements.

Additionally, the replacement of the sub-element "Party beside and together with the mass movements" by the sub-element "Party aiming at the politicization of the mass movements, propagating the 'vision' and supporting the 'attainable'", upgraded the role of the Party and transformed the relation of equal co-operation with the mass movements which had had before. Now, the Party presented itself as an attempt to influence and direct the mass movements, by showing them the "vision" and asking them to enlist "the specific" and "partial" to the "general" and "total". However, in this way an implicit guardianship of the mass movement was attempted, a movement which appeared a priori as non-politicised, as having a "guild attitude", "economistic" and "closed" in its specific demands. While before, therefore, we had a relation of democratic co-operation between the Party and the mass movement which strengthened the meaning of democracy, now we had a relation of indirect guardianship

and influence which restricted the meaning of democracy.

We may, therefore, assert that the concept of Democracy, during its articulation to the modified element of ORGANIZATION in this period underwent a negative influence and its meaning became restricted.

This likewise happened during the articulation of the concept of Democracy to the element of TACTICS, since here also "the co-operation with the mass movements" was replaced by the "politicization of the mass movements". Besides, the addition of the tactic of "polarization and the sole direction of anti- Right struggle" resulted in degrading the level of the political confrontation, in sharpening the political struggle and causing a shift away from democratic dialogue and argument to those of personal attacks and slogans. We may therefore observe that the concept of Democracy, during its articulation to the element of TACTICS, as modified in this period, underwent a fresh negative influence which restricted its meaning still more.

Through the replacement of the sub-element "People" (Democratic Progressive forces) by the sub-element "People" (with concrete national, political, social and cultural characteristics acquired through participation in struggles) in the element of SOCIAL SYNTHESIS, the meaning of democratic and progressive forces was more completely elucidated through the acquisition of national, social, political and cultural characteristics. At the same time its dynamic was strengthened, since these characteristics

were acquired through participation in struggles. Thus, this replacement reinforced the meaning of democracy and hence the concept of Democracy during its articulation to the element of SOCIAL SYNTHESIS received a heightening of its meaning.

The replacement of "related intermediated targets" by the "small, sensible, methodical, interrelated steps" in the element of SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION shows, as we have previously indicated, some restriction of its meaning. Thus, the concept of Democracy articulated to the element of SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION that had been modified in such a way underwent a restriction of its meaning.

In the table III we may discern that the modified sub-elements of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE are not related to blue arrows and this means that the concept of Democracy is not articulated through these. In this way its meaning is not influenced directly by the modifications noted. However, it received an indirect influence by its articulation to this element through its other sub-elements. The maintenance of the U.S.Bases and remaining within NATO, we can say, exercised an influence towards weakening democracy, while on the contrary, we would say that staying within the E.E.C. exercised an influence towards strengthening democracy.

The concept of Democracy during its articulation to the element of POPULAR DOMINANCE, which in this period maintained its meaning at a level of intermediate targets and small steps, underwent a similar restriction of the

political dimension of its meaning.

The same also happened during the articulation of the concept of Democracy to the element of the STATE, while through its articulation to the element of SOCIAL LIBERATION it experienced a relative restriction of the social dimension of its meaning. However, through the articulation of the concept of Democracy to the element of ECONOMY modified in this period, it kept and strengthened to some extent the meaning that its economic dimension had acquired because the noted modifications had strengthened the economic dimension of Democracy {economic convergence of E.E.C.-members}, while, at the same time, the application of democratic planning and the reduction of inequalities in income took place.

Finally, through its articulation to the element of EDUCATION, the concept of Democracy by far the greatest extent of maintained the meaning which it had acquired during the previous period, since here we have no modifications of its meaning.

In conclusion, we can say that the concept of **Democracy**, during its articulation to the elements of PA.SO.K's discourse as they were formulated in this period, sustained a relevant weakening in all the dimensions of the meaning it had acquired during its corresponding articulation in the previous period. This means that in the period 1981-85 PA.SO.K's discourse experienced a relevant weakening of the democratic character it had acquired during the previous period.

The concept of Popular Participation underwent some restriction of the meaning it had acquired during the previous period, as it was articulated to the elements: POPULAR DOMINANCE, where Popular Participation had been restricted since the new institutions had not operated to the full; SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION, where the emphasis was shifted from the intermediate targets to small, sensible and methodical steps; SOCIAL LIBERATION, where the "abolition" of alienation, exploitation and social inequalities was replaced to the "lessening" of them; ECONOMY, where the Participation of employees and other social agents "in all phases of economic process" was converted to the Participation of employees and other social agents "in the socialization of the State sector and recovery of the problematic private enterprises"; and the STATE, where the restricted application of the electoral system of simple proportional representation and the incomplete functioning of the new institutions also to some extent restricted the meaning of Popular Participation. In contrast, the concept of Popular Participation strengthened its previous meaning as it was articulated to the elements: SOCIAL SYNTHESIS, where the meaning of the People was more completely elucidated and its dynamic was reinforced; ORGANIZATION, where, as we seen, the role of Organization was upgraded and strengthened in relation to mass movements; TACTICS, where through the correlation of "vision-attainable", the politicization of the mass movements and the anti-Right polarization, the meaning of

Popular consolidation, activism and Participation was strengthened.

When we estimate both the gains and the losses, we may point out that the meaning of the concept of **Popular Participation** underwent a relative restriction in this period in relation to the meaning it had acquired during the previous period within PA.SO.K's discourse. More specifically, we could say that the political dimension of its meaning was restricted to some extent, since simple proportional representation as an electoral system of MP's had not been institutionalised; the Second and Third grade of Local self-government, which would reinforce the political dimension of Popular Participation, had not been institutionalised either; significant decisions (remaining in the E.E.C., temporary maintenance of the U.S.Bases) were made without the participation of the people through any referendum and new institutions were founded without sufficient support or being used in a valuable way, so that they functioned unsatisfactory. Furthermore, the economic dimension of the meaning of Popular Participation was also restricted, since the bank credit system was not socialised, nor were the key areas of the private sector of the economy; the Law for the supervisory councils was only applied to two branches; worker's control was only introduced in two or three enterprises and the development of the social sector of economy was not sufficiently supported to overcome the obstacles and difficulties it faced. The cultural dimension of the meaning of Popular Participation underwent a smaller

restriction, mainly because of non-socialization of the Mass Media, while Popular Participation was promoted in Education and a significant increase of Popular Participation in cultural activities has been noted.

During the examination of the previous period, we have seen that the concept of Hellenocentrism had acquired within PA.SO.K's discourse a rich and multi-dimensional meaning, the main dimension of which was the effacement of every form of dependence {politico-military, economic and cultural}, which would allow Greeks to decide on the course their country would take outside of politico-military and economic blocs.

Now, the articulation of the concept of Hellenocentrism to the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, which had differentiated itself in this period from its meaning in the previous one, entailed a modification of the meaning it had acquired in the previous period.

In the modified identity of the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE the shaking off of every kind of dependence was replaced by the temporary "so be it" acceptance of politico-military dependence for reasons of National security and by the acceptance of a framework of economic dependence within which "Nationalcentrist" policy was exercised. It is evident that this modification weakened the meaning that the concept of Hellenocentrism had acquired during the previous period. However, at the same time, this concept through its articulation to the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE acquired a new dimension, that of

participation in international initiatives for disarmament and peace, which gave it international influence and hence a new attractiveness. Being articulated to the element of ECONOMY in this period, the concept of Hellenocentrism excluded from its economic dimension the characteristics of self-reliant economic development and getting rid of dependence which it had acquired during the previous period and incorporated two new characteristics: struggle within the E.E.C. in favour of Greek interests and struggle within the E.E.C. for economic and social convergence between Northern and Southern Europe. This intensified the modification it underwent through its articulation to the element of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE and elucidated the restriction of the economic dimension of its meaning.

The meaning which the concept of Hellenocentrism had acquired during the previous period sustained further restriction, as the concept was articulated to the element of STATE, where instead of Hellenization we have a road towards Hellenization and where, as we have seen, upgrading of the Mass Media and hence of Greek programmes for culture were restricted.

On the other hand, the cultural dimension of the concept of Hellenocentrism kept the meaning which it had acquired during the previous period, as it was articulated to the element of SOCIAL LIBERATION and especially to the sub-element "Hellenocentric cultural development". The same also happened through its articulation to the element of EDUCATION, where its Hellenocentrism was promoted to almost

its total achievement of the intermediate target.

Furthermore, the concept of Hellenocentrism kept and to some extent reinforced the meaning which it had acquired in its dimension of People-centrism, as this was articulated to the element of SOCIAL SYNTHESIS, where the sub-element "People" {Laos} was more explicitly elucidated and acquired new dynamism. The same likewise happened through its articulation to the element of TACTICS, where the polarization and the one-directional anti-Right struggle led to a consolidation of popular forces and a reinforcing of the National Popular Unity {E.L.E.}.

To summarise, we may observe that the concept of Hellenocentrism, through its articulation to key elements of PA.SO.K's discourse in this period, modified the meaning it had acquired during the previous period, excluding some characteristics and embodying new ones. The concept of Hellenocentrism in this new meaning displayed a weakening in the unity and coherence of its national dimension, while, at the same time, acquiring a European and international dimension which was defined by national strategy. Thus, it was totally successful in retaining its attractiveness even after the modification of its meaning.

The concept of Decentralization, through its articulation to the element of SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION maintained the meaning it had acquired in the previous period as far as small steps were concerned, without having reached the level of intermediate targets which had been set by PA.SO.K's programme {Contract with the People}.

However, through its articulation to the element of ECONOMY, where the modifications noted (table IV.) positively influenced the characteristics of decentralization -through the promotion of the Integrated Mediterranean Programmes (M.O.P's)-and where, at the same time, the construction and application of the five-year programme of economic and social development promoted balanced economic development and the transfer of resources from the urban centres to the countryside, there was to a large degree a maintenance of the meaning which the geographic and economic dimension of Decentralization had acquired during the previous period.

In contrast, in its articulation to the elements of POPULAR DOMINANCE and the STATE, the concept of Decentralization underwent a somewhat greater restriction of its meaning, especially with reference to the dimension of decentralization of jurisdiction. The failure to establish the Second and Third grades of Local self-government and the restricted function and valid use of the new institutions of popular participation did not permit the dimension of decentralization of jurisdiction of the Decentralization concept to totally retain the meaning it had acquired at the level of intermediate targets during the previous period. However, we may point out that the social, economic and cultural dimension of Decentralization kept their meaning, since we had the redistribution of income in favour of the weaker income strata, an increase in the social salary, effacement of discrimination and

upgrading of cultural life in the provinces and the neglected regions.

In addition, through its articulation to the element of ORGANIZATION and because of the modifications noted in this element (table IV.), the concept of Decentralization underwent some restriction of its meaning, since in this period a depression in the regional function of Organization has been noted, mainly through the application of the United View in political practice and in making decisions centrally. We may observe that the same happened through the articulation of this concept to the element of TACTICS, since polarization and the one-directional, anti-Right struggle limited dialogue and decision-making to the periphery.

Through its articulation to the element of EDUCATION, the concept of Decentralization almost wholly maintained the meaning it had acquired during the previous period, since the intermediate targets which had been set for vertical and horizontal decentralization {administration, guidance, popular participation} as well as for the decentralization of education {foundation of regional Higher and Technological education Institutions, function of the Post-Lyceum Centres} was successful.

In general, we may conclude that the concept of **Decentralization**, through its articulation to the key elements of PA.SO.K's discourse, in this period also maintained to a significant extent the meaning which it had acquired during the previous one.

The concept of Upgrading, through its articulation to the element of EDUCATION also maintained the meaning it had acquired during the previous period in its three dimensions: great improvement, its global character and its reliance chiefly on Greek backing. The educational reform in the period 1981-85 embraced, as already noted, all levels and all sectors (that is, it was developed in a global way); it was distinguished by the promotion of quality in pedagogic materials and in the process of obtaining more of them. Other improvements were, at a higher level, in the relations between the protagonists of education (such as teachers, parents, students); and the concept of Upgrading through its articulation to the element of EDUCATION was mainly based on the socialization of education in and through a new articulation of the political, social, economic and technocratic elements of the Greek conjuncture (relying chiefly on Hellenic backing).

The same happened, through the articulation of the concept of Upgrading to the elements of SOCIAL SYNTHESIS and ORGANIZATION, where as seen, a more global, qualitatively upgraded definition of the People based on the current Greek conjuncture and an upgrading in the role of Organization towards an interrelation between "vision" and "attainable" and the politicization of the mass movements have been pointed out. That is, it maintained the meaning of going beyond the narrow interests and struggles of various social strata. It did this within the framework of the People and National Popular Unity, and of

overcoming the narrowly economic guild-oriented and short-sighted demands in favour of the common vision of Change.

However, this did not happen through the articulation of the concept of Upgrading to the element of TACTICS, where the tactic of polarization and the anti-Right struggle led, as we have remarked, to a degradation in the political struggle. Furthermore the concept of Upgrading maintained its meaning to a significant degree through its articulation to the element of POPULAR DOMINANCE, where upgrading of the representative institutions has been noted without, however, having been completely successful in attaining the intermediate targets. The same also happened through the articulation of the concept of Upgrading to the element of SOCIAL LIBERATION, where an improvement has been noted in the quality of life, an upgrading of cultural life, respect for and protection of the environment, but also in a reduction of alienation, exploitation and social inequalities rather than in their effacement.

A greater restriction of the meaning of the Upgrading concept has been noted, through its articulation to the element of ECONOMY, where the heavily indebted private businesses had not been completely reorganised and the development of the social sector of economy had not progressed. Of course, some steps had been made towards upgrading the economy (socialization of the State sector, democratic planning, etc.), but also due to a prevailing instability in the relations to the E.E.C.. until

PA.SO.K's government consolidated its change of attitude on this subject, the upgrading of the economy did not attain the set intermediate targets.

Finally, the concept of Upgrading, through its articulation to the element of STATE received some restriction of its meaning as to the dimension of the form of representation, since the system of simple proportional representation in General elections was not instituted; the Second and Third grade of Local self-government were not established and valid use of the new institutions of popular participation was not completely made. The same also happened with reference to the dimension of the form of organization, where decentralization, bureaucracy and purging the State of Party members did not reach the intermediate targets and so were left to move on the road towards them. However, Upgrading kept to a significant degree, the meaning which it had acquired during the previous period as to the dimension of the functions of the State, where we had significant upgrading {redistribution of incomes}, increase in the social salary, effacement of discrimination, upgrading of cultural life}; and only as to the upgrading of the environment, especially in Athens, was a delay noted in relation to intermediate targets.

To recapitulate, we may comment that the central concepts of PA.SO.K's discourse -Democracy, Popular Participation, Hellenocentrism, Decentralization and Upgrading- through their articulation to the key elements of the discourse in this period, showed some fluctuation as to the

maintenance of meaning, which they had acquired during the previous period both among them as well as among their different dimensions of meaning.

More concretely, some of these concepts {Democracy, Popular Participation} displayed a relative restriction of their meaning compared to the previous one; others {Decentralization, Upgrading} showed a maintenance of their previous meaning to a significant degree and Hellenocentrism evinced a modification of the meaning it had acquired during the previous period, through the exclusion of some characteristics and the embodiment of new ones.

Additionally, the concept of Democracy retained and reinforced its previous meaning as to its economic dimension {reduction inequalities in income, economic convergence of E.E.C. members}, while its meaning was restricted in its political dimension {restricted democratic function of the Organization, position of guardianship towards the mass agents, non-establishment of simple proportional representation, restricted function of new institutions}. The concept of Popular Participation exhibited greater restriction as to its political and economic dimensions {restricted socialization of the means of power and the means of production} and a much smaller one with reference to its cultural dimension. The concept of Decentralization displayed greater maintenance of its meaning as to the vertical dimension {transmission of jurisdiction and resources from the higher to lower

hierarchical organs} and a greater restriction of its meaning in the horizontal dimension {the Second and Third grade of Local self-government were not established}. Finally, the concept of Upgrading evinced a greater restriction of its meaning in relation to its economic dimension {restricted upgrading of the economy} and a greater maintenance of its significance in relation to its other dimensions {social, cultural, educational}, where upgrading almost reached the proposed intermediate targets.

Precisely this fluctuation which become apparent through the maintenance, restriction or strengthening of the meaning of the different dimensions of the central concepts, as they were articulated to the elements of the discourse in this period, was what provoked some loosening in the strong coherence which PA.SO.K.'s discourse had acquired during the previous period.

We consider that this loosening of coherence in PA.SO.K.'s discourse in relation to the largely restrictive character of the modifications noted in the meanings of its elements and to the weakness of the other parties in properly modifying their discourses and thus persuasively answer the questions posed by the modifications in PA.SO.K.'s discourse, explain the maintenance of PA.SO.K.'s hegemony as well as the small (almost 2.5%) decline in its electoral support in the 1985 elections.

On the other hand, we should remember that this period is characterised by the small disappointments of "coming down" to small, sensible, methodical steps and

intermediate targets, since the previous period was characterised by the hopeful "going up towards" the vision of the great CHANGE.

3. Transformations of the identities of State and Education

We shall now examine the identities of State and Education as they were constructed in the period 1981-85 in and through PA.SO.K's articulatory practices and we shall relate them to those which these elements acquired in the previous period (1974-81) in and through N.D.'s articulatory practices, in order, in succession, to understand how the relationship between State and Education was finally formulated.

To sum up what we have presented rather extensively we would observe that, in and through PA.SO.K's hegemonic articulation, through its oppositions to the other Parties articulations in this period {1981-85}, the identity of the STATE displayed changes in the form of representation as much as in the organization, the role and its functions, via the various dimensions of meaning the central concepts -Democracy, Popular Participation, Decentralization, Upgrading, Hellenocentrism- acquired which were articulated to PA.SO.K's discourse and constituted a kind of link between the different elements of the discourse. The changes in the role and function of the State were of more significance, where to further the strategy of "one nation"

discrimination and privileges were abolished, and inequalities {particularly between urban areas and provinces} were reduced and the intermediate targets of the creation of a welfare State were achieved. The changes in the form of representation and organization were more restricted, where the upgrading of the representative institutions and the function of new institutions of popular participation and social control did not attain the intermediate targets; however, they moved towards the socialization of the State {rearticulation of the relationship of State-social agents}, weakening the network of clientelist relations, promoting decentralization and democratic planning and reducing hierachical structures and bureaucracy.

In order to understand the differences noted in the constructed identity of the STATE in this period {1981-85, PA.SO.K's articulation} it is necessary to briefly mention here the identity it had acquired during the previous period {1974-81, N.D's articulation}.

We have seen that in and through the hegemonic articulation of New Democracy {N.D.} and its oppositions to the articulations of the other Parties, the constructed identity of the STATE presented changes, through the dimensions of meaning acquired by the central concepts {Democratization, West-oriented modernism}, which were articulated to N.D's discourse and which constituted a kind of link between the different elements of the discourse.

Changes were remarked mainly in the form of representation, where the restoration of the function of the representative institutions, the legalization of the Communist Party, replacement of Royalty by Presidential Democracy and the voting in of the relative Constitution took place. At the same time, however the maintenance of the network of clientelist relations within the State as well as between State and society (in the sense of social agents) prevented the society of individuals from being converted into the society of citizens and kept a rudimentary and distorted articulation between State and society. Thus, the People (the society of individuals) totally transmitted the exercise of power IN ITS NAME to the State (Parliament, Government etc.) for the four-year term of each government and the State became a field of concentration of power. While in the organization of the State a maintenance of over - centralization, of bureaucracy, of hierachical structures and "Partyzation" (when the Party takes over the State hierarchy) could be observed; as to its **functions** (economic, social, cultural, etc.) the application of the strategy of the "two nations" took place expressed through discrimination, privileges and inequalities.

When we compare the two constructed identities it becomes clear that in and through PA.SO.K's hegemonic articulation in the 1981-85 period, significant differences were noted in the identity of the State in relation to the identity it had acquired during the 1974-81 period in and

through the hegemonic articulation of N.D.

In the form of representation these differences were: a weakening of the network of clientelist relations and a reinforcement in the participation of social agents in the exercise of power, to express this otherwise, there were a strengthening of the articulation State-society and consequently, a redistribution of power and a strengthening of the possibility of a conversion of the society of individuals to a society of citizens, through the establishment and activation of the institutions of popular participation.

In the form of organization the differences consisted of reduction of centralism and of hierarchical structures and a first application of democratic planning.

In the functions the differences constituted the replacement of the strategy of "two nations" by that of "one nation" through the abolition of discrimination and privileges, a reduction of inequalities, as well as the promotion of the Welfare State.

During our examination of the articulation of the element of EDUCATION to PA.SO.K's discourse in the 1981-85 period, we ascertained that the concepts of Democracy, Decentralization and Popular Participation here maintained, to a significant degree the meaning they had acquired in the previous period. In and through its practices in education PA.SO.K's government succeeded in reaching a greater percentage of its intermediate targets and in making change more perceptible. As we have seen, its

practices embraced all the levels and sectors of education and it managed actively to reduce social barriers, severe hierarchical structures and authoritarian relations. Of course, private education and tuition were not abolished as PA.SO.K. had promised; however, the function of Post-Lyceum Centres, the offering of reinforced instruction and the upgrading of public education acted to limit the scope of private education and tuition. As we have noted, PA.SO.K's practices likewise successfully promoted decentralization to a significant degree and succeeded more than in other sectors in achieving its targets such as that of popular participation. The working people in education {teachers, pupils, students}, parents, Local self-government and other social and economic agents acquired an institutionalised voice in matters of education.

Thus, we can say that in this period, in and through PA.SO.K's articulatory practices and the meaning which through them the concepts of Democratization, Decentralization and Popular Participation acquired as they were articulated to the element of EDUCATION, this element maintained to a greater degree than the element of the STATE the meaning it had acquired within PA.SO.K's discourse during the previous period and that the identity it acquired was briefly, that of a democratic, somewhat decentralized and, to some degree, socialised education.

However, the differences remarked in the constructed identity of education during the two periods we are scrutinising {1974-81, N.D's articulation and 1981-85,

PA.SO.K's articulation} should be examined in a more specific manner; for this reason, we will quickly mention here the identity that education had acquired through its articulation to N.D's discourse.

We have seen that N.D's practices articulated the concepts of Democratization to the element of EDUCATION in the sense of the establishment of free education and of the "demotic" language, of the extension of the period of compulsory attendance from 6 to 9 years and of the participation of one elected teachers' representative on different councils dealing with matters affecting teachers such as promotion, transference, disciplining etc. From the oppositions created by the educational discourses of the other Parties, on the other hand, it became evident that education remained the exclusive responsibility of the State, without any participation of the social agents in decision-making and with the parents being in only a rudimentary articulation to the school through the school board on which two parents participated once recommended by the school headmaster and having been appointed by the Prefect. Also it emerged that the centralism and the severe hierarchical structures in the organization of education, the barriers and authoritarian relations in the learning process and the clientelist relations mainly in Higher education remained untouched.

If we now compare these two constructed identities of education, we can summarise the differences noted in and through PA.SO.K's articulation. As far as **the form of**

education was concerned there was an institutionalization of the participation of social agents and of working people in education {pupils, students, teachers of all levels} in pedagogic decision-making. That is to say, a new articulation between education and society which strengthened the position of education within the State discourse took place. With reference to the organization, centralism was reduced and hierarchical structures even more actively loosened. With regard to the role of education discrimination and barriers to access to learning, authoritarian relations in the learning process and clientelist relations existing in Higher education were actively reduced.

We should remark again here that neither education nor state ever acquired fixed identities and only for methodological reasons did we consider them as closed at the end of each period we have examined. From another point of view, during the analysis of the "horizontal" articulation of the elements it became evident that their identities found themselves in a continuous process of being formulated which was specified by governmental practices and the developing confrontations within the conjuncture.

Having remarked the differences in the constructed identities of the STATE and EDUCATION in and through the different articulations in the two periods, we can also understand the differences noted in the STATE-EDUCATION articulation in these periods.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The relationship between State and Education

Summarising and concluding, we may observe in and through N.D's discourse (period 1974-81) in the state-education articulation, centralised, bureaucratic, hierarchic and clientelist relations were formulated, which significantly narrowed the margins of any autonomy. Considered conventionally as united, the state in and through this articulation became a field of concentration of power, since the People totally transferred the exercise of power to the state. Education, having only rudimentary articulation to society, extracted its power mainly from its articulation to state, as an element of the state discourse or otherwise as an institution and function of the state (taking into account that education in Greece is mainly public education and the few private schools are under state supervision). At the same time, the degree of education's autonomy from the state can be understood only or mainly within the framework of the developing antagonistic confrontations of the discourses of the other Parties, given the absence of an institutionalised voice of social agents.

At first sight, in PA.SO.K's discourse (period 1981-85) there seems to be a strengthening of the state-education articulation, since through PA.SO.K's practices

an attempt was made to abolish private education and to regulate all educational matters through the state. However, at the same time, in and through P.A.S.O.K's hegemonic articulation a re-articulation of the state - society and education - society relationships was realised. The previously existing clientelist relations were weakened and relations of participation were strengthened (or even were formulated for the first time). The formulation of these new relations between "state-society" and "education-society" also modified the relationship between "state-education". Now, different social agents {Local self-government, Trade Unionists, Professional and Economic organizations, Scientific-Technocratic and Cultural associations, employees, teachers, pupils, students, parents etc} were articulated together between state and education. It could be said that through this articulation People as acted for by their elected representatives did not totally transfer the exercise of power to state but maintained a part of their power, which they themselves exercised, when partaking in the partial organs of Popular Participation and Social Control in the different branches of the state and especially, as we have seen, in education. Thus, through this new articulation and the participatory relationship which was formulated, a break was created in the existing monopoly of state power, which we have observed in the N.D's articulation. Education, through its direct articulation to society, acquired a source of power and thus the margins of its autonomy were

widened.

It also emerged that in and through this new articulation the greater the extent and higher the degree of activation of the institutional machines of popular participation in each branch of the state, the higher the degree of concentration of power in this branch and the greater its autonomy from the state.

Thus, since in the 1981-85 period we found out that in and through P.A.S.O.K.'s concrete articulatory practices the socialization of education was promoted more than in the other branches of the state (or, conventionally speaking, more than the socialization of the state) we can say that in this period education seemed to acquire a higher degree of autonomy than that which it had obtained in the previous period within N.D.'s discourse.

We have also observed that in and through N.D.'s articulatory practices and their oppositions to the practices of the other Parties in the 1974-81 period and in and through P.A.S.O.K.'s articulatory practices and their oppositions to the practices of the other Parties in the 1981-85 period, the different identities of and relations between state-education were constructed in these two periods. This discursive constitution of their identities has shown that there was not only one reason or centre which determined their form, organization, role and function and hence the relationship between them.

More concretely, it emerged that there were not privileged pre-constituted centres e.g. social or class

relations, mode of production, cultural capital, habitus, codes etc able to impose their reproduction, reflection, correspondence, transition-acquisition etc and to determine the identities of the other social elements such as state and education as examined in this study. From our empirical analysis it also emerged that the state as well as education and the economy in addition to further elements of the discourse, did not constitute foundations but contingent social logics. This is because their identities changed to some extent from one period to the other as a consequence of the corresponding articulatory practices of the Parties and their confrontations within the conjuncture and not because of an objective reason or structural effect. It also became clear that the articulatory practices themselves were not the result of an external reason or necessity but were formulated within the conjuncture being in a reciprocal relation to the various events and the correspondingly developing pairs of oppositions in the field of antagonism.

We have likewise observed that the changes noted in the relationship between state and education {and hence in their identities} in and through the hegemonic articulation of either N.D. {1974-81} or PA.SO.K. {1981-85} had neither the same extent nor the same depth as far different characteristics of these elements were concerned, for example, in N.D's discourse the changes in the form of representation of the state were more significant and much smaller in organization and its functions; in education,

also, the changes were the most significant at the Secondary level and the least at the Primary and the Third-stage of education {university}. In PA.SO.K's discourse, the changes were more extensive in the different functions of the state and less extensive in its form of representation and organization; in education, on the other hand, the changes were more balanced and they embraced all levels and all its sectors. This variety of differentiation strengthens, in our opinion, the argument for an absence of a pre-given determining centre or underlying principle. It also reveals that the relationship between state and education is neither organic nor structural, that is, they do not have a pre-given, closed relationship since such deviations appear. Besides, it reveals that the state is not a solid whole but a set of multiple-complicated relations in the dispersion of which the degree of relative unification is the result of articulatory practices within the conjuncture. Thus, through N.D's articulatory practices and through the over-centralized, bureaucratic, hierarchical and clientelist relations which they had established within the state, its different branches had acquired a high degree of unification and a correspondingly lower degree of autonomy.

In contrast, through PA.SO.K's articulatory practices and through the weakening of the centralised, bureaucratic, hierarchical and clientelist relations and through the establishment of relations of social participation within the state, its different branches

acquired a lower degree of unification and correspondingly higher degree of autonomy. This especially applies for education where, as seen, PA.SO.K's intermediate targets were promoted with greater consistency. Precisely this reversal of the relationship unification-autonomy which was noted in and through PA.SO.K's hegemonic articulation we believe was what led N.D. to denounce PA.SO.K. for the disorganization and the dissolution of the state and particularly of education.

It is worth mentioning here that recently {in 1990} N.D's government, while managing to promote austerity measures and privatization in the field of the economy by neutralising any reaction, had to retreat and to stop furthering its new liberal programme in education, thus, giving way to the reactions of the pupils of Secondary education and obliging the Minister of education to resign. This, in our opinion, confirms the fact that education had acquired a higher degree of autonomy.

We should also remark another dimension which emerged in the course of our study and which is related to the state-education articulation. From the study of the activation of the institutions of popular participation it became evident that the institutionalization of these mechanisms was not enough along to secure a higher degree of autonomy or concentration of power. A process of transition from the "society of individuals to the "society of citizens" was simultaneously necessary. The institutionalized articulation of the social agents either

to the state or to education or to other branches, would have been dynamic and creative insofar as the social agents would have dismissed the characteristics of living as private citizens and would have acquired those of politicization.

This, of course, does not mean that social mentality should first change or that the transition to the "society of citizens" should take place initially and afterwards that the new institutions should follow. On the contrary, we wish to stress by our remark that the popular participatory institutions and the politicization of society can and must progress on a parallel footing, mutually strengthening and mutually formulating each other.

2. Reference to the rest of the propositions

To complete the results of our study we should make the following remarks:

1.1 (First general proposition). During the examination of the phenomenon of PA.SO.K. and specifically during the analysis of the construction of the meaning of its Social Synthesis we found out that the meaning of this element was constructed in terms of an "equivalent social alliance" of the "non-privileged people", which was formed in and through participation in common national, political, social and cultural struggles. The identity of this new historical bloc, which PA.SO.K. named E.L.E. {National - Popular- Unity} was not defined by economic or social

{class} criteria nor did its constitutive parts appear as preconstituted, ready to be expressed by PA.SO.K. PA.SO.K. did not appear as a representative or vanguard of any social class, but recognising extreme social fragmentation, it made an appeal to the Greek People in general, to the ordinary Greek citizen, to a wide variety of subject positions {peasants, workers, craftworkers, salaried people, professionals, scientists, the learned, low and middle strata, artists, youth, women, pensioners etc.} which, however, were overspecified by participation in common "progressive and democratic" struggles. In this way the construction of the meaning of PA.SO.K's social synthesis and its elevation to the hegemonic status demolishes Gramsci's argument for the necessity of constitution of the hegemonic force on the plane of one of the fundamental classes and it confirms Laclau's position in favour of the discursive constitution of social identities.

More specifically, we ascertained that: in and through PA.SO.K's articulatory practices, a disarticulation of the concepts of Democracy, Nationalism and Modernism took place from the discourse of the Right Wing, and of the concept of Socialism from the discourse of the Traditional Left, and a re-articulation to its own discourse together with new concepts, such as those of Popular Participation and Decentralization. These concepts, for some of which new terms were used {such as Hellenocentrism instead of Nationalism and Upgrading instead of Modernism} articulated

to PA.SO.K's discourse and, being in opposition to the discourses of the other Parties, acquired new dimensions. For example, the concept of Democracy, apart from the political dimension it had already acquired in Right-Wing discourse, insofar as it was articulated to the concept of Socialism {Popular Participation}, took on a social, economic and cultural dimension and, correspondingly, a widened meaning with political, social, economic and cultural associations.

Thus, it became clear that PA.SO.K's discourse did not have concrete class connotations, since it articulated elements from different socio-political milieus, which through this articulation went beyond the meaning of any class origin. From another point of view, the non-concrete class connotation of PA.SO.K's discourse became evident through the construction of the meaning of its social synthesis, National-Popular-Unity (E.L.E.) (specific proposition 1.1).

During the analysis of the pre-governmental period {1974-81}, we found that the dimensions of meaning, which the key elements of PA.SO.K's discourse acquired in and through their articulation to it were mainly expressed through the concepts of Democracy, Decentralization, Popular Participation, Upgrading and Hellenocentrism, which for methodological reasons we called central concepts. These five concepts operated as "channels" for transferring

and acquiring meaning simultaneously within the different elements of PA.SO.K's discourse, thus creating a kind of unity between the articulated elements, secured their smooth flow and gave the discourse of this period an unbreakable unity. It is worth noticing that these concepts, apart from that of Popular Participation, existed in the discourses of other Parties as well but, as we have seen, with a different meaning from that they acquired within PA.SO.K's discourse. Exactly this different meaning which the key elements of PA.SO.K's discourse internalized through the articulatory practices, as re-articulations of the events of the conjuncture, as oppositions to the corresponding elements of the other discourses and as a result of their inner articulation, as well as the unbreakable unity of the discourse contributed decisively to PA.SO.K's rapid development and elevation to the status of a hegemonic force.

Analysing the 1981-85 governmental period we found that in and through PA.SO.K's articulatory practices, by which it made an attempt to actualise its declarations and to respond to the discourses of the other Parties, some of the key elements of its discourse (SOCIAL SYNTHESIS, EDUCATION) maintained the meaning they had acquired in the previous period to a significant degree; others (STATE, POPULAR DOMINANCE, SOCIAL LIBERATION, SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION) maintained it to some degree; and still others (ORGANIZATION, TACTICS, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE,

ECONOMY) modified their meaning. The modifications noted in the meaning of these elements mainly had a restrictive character and led to a fluctuating, relative restriction of the meaning of the central concepts, to small schisms in their unity and hence a loosening of the coherence of the discourse. At the same time we have noticed some weaknesses and delays on the part of the other Parties in properly modifying their discourses and in persuasively answering the questions which the modifications in PA.SO.K's discourse posed. This explains the decline in PA.SO.K's electoral support of nearly 2.5% in the 1985 elections and at the same time the maintenance of its hegemony. (specific proposition 1.2)

Besides, it became evident that neither the identity of the elements of PA.SO.K's discourse, nor that of binary oppositions or constitutive differences was pre-given or remained stable. Never did these elements obtain a fixed identity within PA.SO.K's discourse; on the contrary, they found themselves continually in a process of modification or differentiation. We have seen how many differentiations and modifications have been noted in the identity of ORGANIZATION (self-organization, Party of principles with recognition of the role of the leader, Party with principles with the leader in the role of protagonist, Party support of the government, democratic and two-directional function, democratic function and United View, co-operation with mass movements, politicization

of mass movements etc.) and how many transformations came about in the couplets of internal and external oppositions. Also, we observed similar differentiation and modifications in the identity of TACTICS (from the opposition "vision/existing" to "self - criticism" and "polarization"). Additionally, the modification of the strategic targets of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE was significant: in the pre-governmental period joining the E.E.C. appeared as a loss of National Independence, but during the governmental period remaining within the E.E.C. came to appear as a condition of safeguarding the territorial integrity of Greece, that is, its National Independence (specific proposition 1.3).

Having examined PA.SO.K.'s articulatory practices it has become evident that these were neither the reactive product of the changing social conditions nor were they the pure creation of an individual or collective will. The external historical conditions were explained and understood by PA.SO.K. in a different way from that of the other Parties and hence their articulatory practices were different. These different practices, which precisely due to their conjunctural nature, were not pre-given and stable, created couplets of oppositions and these in their turn new practices. Thus, the fact that PA.SO.K's articulatory practices managed to dichotomise the field of political antagonism, to consolidate their identities as the dominant pole of dichotomy, that is, to become hegemonic, was not

the result of any external necessity nor, however, was it something totally contingent. Nor was it only the result of PA.SO.K's particular ability to analyse, explain, understand the conjuncture and formulate its practices disarticulating and re-articulating elements from other discourses. Its success was also related to weaknesses of the other political agents in formulating and applying more persuasive and effective antagonistic practices. (Specific proposition 1.4. We consider that there is no reason to refer to general and specific proposition 2 because they have been exhaustively analysed during the examination of the relationship between state and education).

During the whole course of our study as in our conclusions above it has become clear that our theoretical model has decisively helped us in understanding the phenomenon of PA.SO.K. as well as the relationship between state and education. We have seen that by focusing on antagonistic-hegemonic articulatory practices, we can more completely understand the social, political, economic and institutional changes which took place in Greece during the period we have examined. We found that neither the political agents {e.g. PA.SO.K., New Democracy, etc} nor their discourses {their multiple and complex practices}, nor, of course, the component elements of their discourses had had a preconstituted and fixed identity or pre-given and stable relations; but their identities and their relations found themselves in a process of continually

changing their construction (which we only conventionally closed in two moments) in and through antagonistic and changing articulatory practices. It became evident that all this play of constitution and re-constitution of their identities was not determined by an external necessity, some other centre or foundation nor was it completely contingent, however. The events of the conjuncture with the variety of their explanation and intelligibility, as field of discursivity and as consequent field of antagonism within the concrete conjuncture, permitted and simultaneously restricted PA.SO.K's constitution as agent - hegemonising force- as well as the constitution of its articulatory-hegemonic practices and the consequent changes which had been noted. Agent and discourse were constructed on the same plane, that of discursivity, in a process of unending feed-back.

However, while examining PA.SO.K's construction and its discourse in general, we have remarked the prominent role of its President, A.Papandreou. This remark brings forward for discussion the matter of the role of the leader, of the outstanding personality. We consider that our study has indicated some problematizations for further research into this matter, which would lead to a corresponding completion of our theoretical model.

APPENDIX ONE

PA.SO.K's founding Declaration September 3rd 1974

The tragedy of Cyprus, as well as the dangers for the nation resulting from the unhesitating, expansionist policy of the Pentagon as well as the attempt of the American-supported Junta to turn the Armed Forces exclusively into an instrument of Police administration of the region of Greece are uppermost in the mind of every Greek person. However, the unity of the People alone in its decision to face without any retreat the external threat and any imposition on the integrity of our national presence, does not justify governmental inactivity in three crucial areas: the punishment of those guilty for the seven-year dictatorship, for the slaughter in the Greek Polytechnic and for the Cyprus tragedy; the purging of the state machine and the full redressing of the victims of the German occupation. Great is the unease of the Greek people because the promises of the government concerning restoration of normal political life will be empty words if unaccompanied as soon as possible by punishment, purging of the state machine, redressal for victims of the Occupation. It is said that the time is not ripe. The national questions dominates all else now. But this argument about national danger is not fitting. Now, is it possible for those who are responsible for the national calamity to remain at posts crucial for the nation? Exactly because Greece is today at a decisive turning-point we should proceed courageously towards punishment, purging the state and redressal. To protect the nation, to open the way which leads to independent popular dominance and democracy.

It is within this framework that our decision to proceed now towards political action, the declaration of basic principles and targets of a new political movement, of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PA.SO.K.), should be understood. Only through the active political presence of the citizens, from the one corner of Greece to the other, will our national independence as much as popular dominance be secured. The time has come for us to pass from passive expectation to the active popular presence in order to formulate the future of our country.

The dependence of our country on others is the root of calamity. The seven medieval years of gloomy military dictatorship and the Cyprus tragedy constitute no more than an especially hard expression of Greece's dependence on the imperialist establishment of the U.S.A. and NATO. Greece has been transformed into an advanced nuclear guard-house of the Pentagon in order to serve more effectively the military and economic interests of the big monopolies. The state machine, the armed forces, the parties, the Trade Unions and the political leadership of the country had been corroded to such a degree, that the imposition of foreign-motivated military dictatorship was possible, when

thought to be in agreement with Washington's interests. The coup d' état against Makarios was deliberately provoked and the aggressive Turkish invasion of Cyprus led to the division the great island and finally to the establishment a new military base of the U.S.A. and NATO in the East Mediterranean sea.

Our country was transformed into a vineyard without any fence for the corrosion of our economy by the multinational enterprises of the U.S.A. and the West always with the co-operation of the domestic and comprador capital. For the Greek country to decay, for the peasant's sweat not to give him any reward, for emigration to continue to offer cheap workers to capital as well as to foreign parts such as Europe, Australia and Canada.

This movement towards the subordination and undermining of our national interests, the corrosion of popular dominance; towards economic decay and exploitation of the Greek working people should stop. In contrast we should proceed with courage and decisiveness to found a new Greece.

Today we announce the launching of a new political Movement, which we believe expresses the desires and demands of the simple Greek people; of a Movement which belongs to the peasant, the worker, the craftsman, the wage-earner, the clerk, our bold and enlightened youth. We call them to join and broaden our movement. To be members of and participate in a movement which will simultaneously further our **national independence, popular dominance, social liberation and democracy** in all the phases of the public life.

The creation of a state released from foreign control or intervention, of a state released from the control or influence of the economic oligarchy, of a state destined to protect the Nation and to serve the People is the basic prevalent target of the Movement. National independence is strongly tied with popular dominance, with democracy in every phase of the country's life, with the active participation of the citizen in all the decisions which concern him. However, it is at the same time interwoven with the release of our economy from the control of foreign monopoly and domestic comprador capital, which sets our economic, social, political and cultural course according to the interests of the economic oligarchy and to the cost of the People. And of course Greece should withdraw from the military and political NATO. And of course the bipartite agreements which have allowed the Pentagon to transform Greece into a launching-pad for furthering its expansive policy should be cancelled. However, the monopoly multinational enterprises and their domestic replacements are behind the american bases and behind NATO. For this reason, social liberation, socialist transformation constitute the cornerstone of our Movement. In order for the peasant to enjoy the product of his sweat and of his land, for the peasant, the worker, the craftsman, the wage-earner, the clerk, the simple Greek to

enjoy the product of his toil. For effectively fighting the glaring income inequality between the geographic regions and social strata, which characterize contemporary Greece. For stopping the exploitation of human being by human being. For the active participation of the People in the planning of the economic, social and cultural progress of the country. For making employment and housing certain for all the Greeks. For the abolition of the privileges of the few as to medical, medicinal and hospital care. For the protection of mother, child and the elderly. For safeguarding the social and economic equality of the two sexes. For the liberation of thought and for education to become the property of all the Greeks.

Today's declaration of principles of the **Panhellenic Socialist Movement** constitutes the starting point for founding, staffing and consolidating a Movement which we wish to become the agent of all the genuine progressive and democratic forces of the country. We make an appeal to all these forces to unite and proceed to the struggle. The founding principle of the Movement is the absolutely safeguarded democratic process -from the base to the leadership- with absolute equality in rights of all the members who will become its staff. The programme and the organizational form will be decided together during its development with the equal participation of all the members of the first congress which will soon convoked. This also will be within the frame of an assured democratic procedure.

Our People has bitter experience of Party-formations of the past based on the feudal relationship between leaders and Parliament Members, between P.M.s and Party organisers, between Party organisers and voters. Or Party mechanisms which replaced principles, programmes and democratic procedures with illegitimate political favours and wings. All the people demand political organizations of principles, distinguished by the free democratic expression of the base, so that the leadership will be restricted to political decisions, in order that there will be consistency and continuity in government.

Today's declaration is one which we are sure reflects the beliefs, desires, demands and the vision of the Greek people. It aims at inciting discussion and problematization at national level. Today's declaration of ours constitutes the compass which will guide our course towards a new, revived, human, socialist and democratic Greece, a Greece which belongs to Greeks.

The Panhellenic Socialist Movement is the Movement which is fighting for the following targets:

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

POPULAR DOMINANCE

SOCIAL LIBERATION

DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE

The struggle of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement for our national renaissance, for a socialist and democratic Greece, is based on the principle that our national independence constitutes the condition for the

realization of popular dominance, that popular dominance constitutes the condition for the realization of social liberation, that social liberation constitutes the condition for the realization of political democracy.

For the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, the Junta's military regime imposed by the coup d' etat on April 21st 1967 was not more than a particularly gloomy instance of Greece's colonization by Pentagon and NATO, with the co-operation of the dependent West-European and domestic comprador capital. It aimed at serving the strategic and economic claims of american capital in the field of the East Mediterranean Sea. For this reason, the struggle of our People aspires firstly to definite abolition of the reasons which led to the gloomy seven-year dictatorship. And this struggle cannot be justified if there is not:

a) Punishment of the guilty ones and of the torturers of the seven-year Junta and of those responsible for Cyprus betrayal.

b) A whole restoration to their former positions of the victims of dictatorship.

c) Immediate cancellation of all the illiberal and oppressive, "necessary" measures of the seven-year dictatorship, as well as of the similar legislative texts of the pre-dictatorship governments.

d) Making certain the return of the political refugees to the homeland.

e) Restoration of the whole state machine to a healthy condition.

f) Abolition of the hidden unofficial state and of the domination of the state by the Right-Wing Party.

g) Immediate placing of the armed forces and the security forces at the service of the Nation and of the People and the submission of the forces to complete and continuous control by the legally elected political leadership.

For the abolition of the system which led to the imperialist occupation of our country and of the conditions which created it, still maintain it and protect it; for the founding of a genuine, revived, presidential and socialist Greek Democracy, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement puts as conditions the attainment of the following specific targets:

1. Every power derives from the People, expresses the People and serves the People. The social, economic and political structure of power in our country is articulated in a way which excludes the infringement of the popular will in any way.

2. The right of defence of each citizen against any attempt at abolition of the legal power, of abrogation of the Constitution and enslavement of our People is safeguarded by the Constitution.

3. The charter of human rights of the United Nations Organisation is in force as to the basic rights of the citizen. Freedom of opinion and expression, the freedom of organization for attainment of collective aims within the framework of the Constitution, the inviolability

of individual rights not only are assured by the Constitution, but also are effectively protected by justice which is independent. Greek nationality is not taken away.

4. The social and economic equality of two sexes assured by the Constitution are guaranteed.

5. The direct and active participation of all citizens in the political life of the country is assured by genuine democratic procedures.

6. The right to work for all the citizens, males and females, is constitutionally assured.

7. Trade unionism is liberated from dependence on economic oligarchy and from the guardianship of the state; it is assured as a free and autonomous movement and is placed at the service of the working People's interests.

8. The church is definitely separated from the state and monastery property is socialized.

9. Greece withdraws from military, political and economic coalitions, which undermine our national independence and the overriding right of the Greek people themselves to plan the social, economic, political and cultural development of the country.

10) Greece follows a dynamic, independent foreign policy to attain in the best possible way these targets: a guarantee of territorial integrity, assured and liberated popular dominance and the realization of the Greek People's claims. Being situated at the same time within Europe, the Balkans and the Mediterranean makes Greece's presence perceptible in these three places as well. Nuclear disarmament of the Mediterranean and the Balkan region, the achievement of neutrality with regard to military coalitions in the Mediterranean, the tightening of economic and cultural relations with the peoples all over Europe and the Mediterranean, as an offering to international peace, the creation of brotherly relations among all the nations and the structure of all the countries in a all-human and pan-liberal Community with equal treatment and equal rights of all the human beings, constitute its permanent aims.

11. The international pacts and agreements which have led Greece to economic, political and military dependence on the monopoly groups of the West and especially of american imperialism are cancelled.

12. The social liberation of the Greek working People, which in the long term is identical to the socialist transformation of society is aimed at. This development presupposes for the foreseeable future:

a. The socialization of the whole financial system of the basic units of production as well as of the big export and import trade. Simultaneously, the placing of rural enterprises into associations of a new form, with activities which will extend to the supply of raw materials and the processing, preparation and disposition of their products is furthered. These organizations will abolish the middleman who exploits the product of the peasant's sweat and land. Besides, the stopping of exploitation in the

handicrafts in the form of association is furthered.

b. The regionally decentralised social planning of the economy which is connected with the control of productive units by working people (that is, through worker's control) and by the competent social agents. Competent social agent is the state, the region, the borough or the community, according to the size, the form and the significance of the productive unit.

c. Administrative decentralization with reinforcement of local self-government.

d. The systematic and progressive closing of the gap between the lower and higher income within the regions and professions.

e. A housing and town planning policy which would secure a civilised house for each Greek family.

f. A new education for the abolition of the barriers which prevent the widening of knowledge and for the creation of free-thinking and socially responsible citizens. Education is the responsibility of the whole of society. Private education is abrogated. Free and compulsory education is secured for all Greek people; educational policy is institutionalized which will secure the wide participation of all the popular strata, as well as the participation of students in the planning of education and the administration of the educational foundations.

g. The socialization of health which entails free medical, medicinal and hospital treatment, preventative hygiene for all Greeks, the abolition of private clinics and all privileges in the allocation of medicine and hospital services.

h. A system of social insurance for health, accidents, old age and unemployment which will be extended to all Greeks.

i. The protection of the mother and the child.

j. The protection of the environment, the improvement of the quality of life in relation to the valid use of national popular traditions and the participation of the whole People in cultural evolution.

The economic, political, social and cultural claims of the working Greek people -workers, peasants, wage-earners, clerks, youth, the middling and lesser self-employed and craftsmen- the founding of a society without exploitation and bureaucracy will be realised through continuous popular vigilance, control and mobilization.

The Panhellenic Socialist Movement makes an appeal to the Greek People to be organised in its classes, in organizations of the base, to participate directly in the further formulation of its programme, in making all the decisions and marking out its cadres at all levels. Thus, we will continue with new intensity and decisiveness the struggle for an independent, socialist and democratic Greece. (P.A.S.O.K., Declaration, Statute, September 3rd 1974)

APPENDIX TWO

I N T R O D U C T I O N

BEFORE THE ELECTIONS AND THE VICTORY PA.SO.K. IN GOVERNMENT - PEOPLE IN POWER

The time of the great Change has shown its signals for our country. The People themselves are determined to take the power into their own hands and to lead the country towards a future which would correspond to the vision of many generations.

In the coming decisive elections, the elections of great hope for the People and the Nation, the battle will be between Change and Conservatism; between National Independence and foreign dependence; between development and decay; between cultural renaissance and cultural alienation.

The Greek People, all the working people, the peasants, the workers, the clerks, the professionals, the craftsmen, the lower and middling social strata, the scientists, the intellectuals, the artists, youth and women will further this battle, the battle for Democracy.

For this reason, the victory of PA.SO.K. will be crushing. A victory which will yield a majority government and the possibility of the realization of the Programme of Change.

With PA.SO.K. in Government and the People in Power, the avenue which leads to a nationally proud and socially just Greece will open wide.

To an Independent and Democratic Greece, where long-lasting peaceful progress will lead to Social Liberation; to the Socialist Transformation of Society with the participation of all the people and a great effort from all the nation.

After fifty years, with a minimum of bright intervals, where the Right was in charge of this country, with the People on the margin, the time has now come when the People will put the Right on the confines of history.

This present historical conjuncture is not a contingent fact. It is the result and fruit of painful, long-term effort and struggle by the People, which in the last years has found its pure political expression in the Panhellenic Socialist Movement.

A.G. Papandreou's initiative, through the founding of PA.SO.K. on the Third of September 1974 incarnated the People's longing and desires for Liberty and Democracy.

A democratic and worthy organization of struggle was built up day by day though spontaneous popular response.

PA.SO.K., with its crystal-like principles and its responsible work has concentrated the widest popular strata in it within just a few years.

We fought with the People, where they work, live

and educate themselves, within the furnace of the mass movement.

The great Change, our vision, became the message and hope of the People. The 1977 elections were a new point of departure towards Victory. Within and outside Parliament there were struggles for the defence of popular interests, which were attacked more and more by the Right Wing policy. The pitiful inability of the Right Wing governments and our regional and dependent economy has multiplied the results of the present deep crisis of world capitalism.

The working people, all the non-privileged Greeks, felt directly in their life and their fate the suffering resulting from miserable exploitation by the foreign and domestic oligarchy. They faced authoritarianism and one-sided austerity without bending. They felt their efforts overcoming old prejudices.

Day by day, the masses, for years trapped within the Right Wing but not belonging socially to it, are consolidating the ranks of the members, friends and followers of the Movement. At the same time the concentration around P.A.S.O.K. of the fighters from the National Resistance Movement, the Unyielding struggles and the generation of the Greek Polytechnic continues.

This obviously justifies the strategy of NATIONAL POPULAR UNITY, which constitutes a necessity for the Nation and the People.

The national question, the Cyprus tragedy, the threat in the Aegean Sea together with their confrontation by the Right Wing clearly revealed to the People where patriotism and its exploitation is really to be found.

Besides, they revealed the consequences of the policy of dependence and subordination.

In present moments so difficult for humanity, P.A.S.O.K.'s great initiatives in Peace -both East and West, both South and North- and the multi-faceted international recognition of it, showed the People what a multi-dimensional, uncommitted foreign policy means and how international support can be essential for a tomorrow without dependence.

Developments on the world-wide scene are today significant especially in Europe; the recent triumph of the socialist forces of Change in France constitute an additional encouragement for every socialist, for every democratic and progressive human being.

However, it is our conviction and our founding principle that Change in our country is a matter for the Greek People themselves. Exactly this conviction constitutes also the main source of optimism for the success of P.A.S.O.K.'s government tomorrow.

Facing the crucial national, economic, social and cultural problems which the Right Wing have left us, our feeling of responsibility becomes great.

However, we are sure of success, because tomorrow the People's standing side by side and fighting alongside the Movement is certain. Multi-faceted popular

participation constitutes the key. On precisely this will we base ourselves and in the coming years we will work still more towards this direction.

We have already traced a responsible governmental strategy and a programme which are crystallisations of our experience and activity within the People. This programme through popular participation and initiative will be enriched and applied consistently and unhesitatingly.

Today's declaration of governmental policy is based on this Programme and presents its general line within this framework.

(Extract from: Declaration of Governmental Policy, contract with the People, PA.SO.K., Athens 1981 p.7-9)

APPENDIX THREE DECISION OF PA.SO.K's CONGRESS FOR THE ORGANIZATIONAL RECOMMENDATION

I n t r o d u c t i o n

PA.SO.K. through its Congress has essentially completed ten years of life.

Our organization today constitutes with its experience of struggles and its abilities also the most vivid evidence of responsibility, continuity and unity in the progress towards Change. It constitutes the most reliable guarantee for the outcome of struggle that our people is conducting for Independence and Socialism.

In our ten-year development, starting from the declaration of the 3rd of September 1974 and passing through historical stages we have achieved our target of a mass organization open to the people and able to struggle, an organization linked to social reality which always constitutes the decisive factor in political initiatives.

Our development from self-organization to a mass representative organization and thence to an organization of power was not linear. It passed through the Scylla and Charibdes of traditional opinion and action, of what we have inherited politically and socially left us over the ages and through its contradictions.

Often there was a need for an enormous effort to dialectically overcome these contradictions without leaving conflict aside and at the same time to maintain, increase and strengthen the bonds of the Movement with the people.

Today we can say with confidence that PA.SO.K., the authentic product of popular struggles and social process, hopes for the realization of the visions and expectations of our people and constitutes a vivid reality with social and class actions.

As is natural in Congress procedure this rich experience has become the object of widest criticism and self-criticism throughout the body of the Movement. The fruits of political dialogue have been essential as they decisively contributed to the general direction which

constitutes the common denominator of all the positions of organizations, members, organs and which is: the upgrading of the role of the Movement in the road towards for change.

The "theses" of the Central Committee

The organizational recommendation cannot and should not constitute the detailed historical description of a course of development but the political document which explains the characteristics and conditions of development of the organization.

At the same time it directly related to the ideological and political recommendation of the Central Committee, because the Movement's organizational construction cannot be separated from its ideological and political construction.

The recommendation of the Central Committee in the Congress concerning the course of development of organization essentially consists of three parts and specifically refers to the following:

1. The role of organization as a catalyst in the course of development of transition within the framework of the Democratic road, its physiognomy and characteristics (section C. ideological and political recommendation).

2. The relation of the Movement, as organization of power, to the institutions, the State, the mass movement, the Government and the strategically important preferences which derive from it (section E. ideological and political recommendation).

3. The developmental course of organization and the basic directive lines of organizational policy, which derive from the present political and social conjuncture (organizational recommendation).

The first and the second constitute the framework which specifies all our strategic references and the ideological and political construction of organization. This, therefore, is our political theory for the organization, as formulated by the decisions of the 2nd, 5th and 9th Assembly of PA.SO.K's Central Committee.

The Congress' dialogue has moved within the above framework apart from some isolated and partial propositions which have not been accepted by Congress. The positions of the members undertake to further sharpen and safeguard the organization's functioning which realise our conception of organizational policy.

The dialogue in the organizational recommendation was rich and fruitful. The organization had positions and concrete propositions which derived directly from its experience. The critical evaluation of the course of development, the new conditions formulated through PA.SO.K's rise to power, the vacuum created in the party leadership by the inevitable placing of many first-class party-members in the Government and the state machine, the construction and development of the National Popular Unity (E.L.E.), the new needs born in the mass movement

constituted the widest field of this dialogue.

The problems and weaknesses are mainly localized in: - the understanding of the new complex role which PA.SO.K. has to carry out as an organization of power, -the specialization and realization of our political goals.

And this is natural as phenomena of the period of self-organization and of the period of anti-Right struggle even coexist with its evolution towards being an organization of creative political practice, an organization of power.

The strongest criticism made of problems relating to the development of organization, the connection between its different levels, its manner of guiding the members, its relation to Government, the Public Administration and the mass movements, the behaviour of the first-class party members, the degrading of its role or the deficient politicization of its procedures.

The majority of proposals referred to the creation of the conditions which would allow the effective realization of the decisions of the organs of the Movement.

The Congress of the Movement in relation to the organizational recommendation of the Central Committee decides:

- it accepts the political and ideological framework which PA.SO.K. formulated during its ten-year course of development of construction and evolution of organization, therefore, as the ideological-political recommendation specifies it.

- it notes in writing the achievements, the steps and the leaps in our development which led the people to power and elevated PA.SO.K. to the status of the main agent of change for the homeland and for our people.

- it stands critically and self-critically as to mistakes, weaknesses and omissions, practices and decisions and it considers that an understanding of party-history is necessary for the political upgrading of organization.

- it decides the acceptance of proposals which contribute to the specialization and realization of the political and ideological framework and organizational development.

General part

In relation to the whole developmental course of the Movement our Congress has concluded on: a) a series of general political preferences which derive from the character of the Party and its physiognomy and b) to the connection of the Party structure with the political conjuncture and its priorities.

More concretely:

1. Through the Assemblies of the Central Committee and the formulation of the "Theses" PA.SO.K. has elaborated a political theory for the organization and its political function which is entailed by the physiognomy itself and the strategy of the Democratic Road.

It is the organization which is compatible neither

with the classical form of the bourgeois Party, which in our country is identified with the reproduction and consolidation of clientelist relation and the view and practice of the old party attitude, nor with the organization at a Party level of the vanguard of a class caught in the logic of the "professionals of the revolution".

Consequently, the political agent of change:

- in relation to the form of the struggle which it conducts and which is identified with that of the people for independence and social change, has a nation-liberating and socialist character,

- in relation to the class reference and its social orientation, it expresses the interests of the social alliance of the non-privileged people and constitutes a catalyst for unification, orientation and action.

- in relation to its connection with the social forces of National Popular Unity, it has a class, open, mass and representative character.

- in relation to the mass movement it is the agent of struggle and guidance, unity and political orientation and safeguarding of the principles of democratic articulation of the autonomy at the institutions and the forms of struggle, of the class and political unity of targets, tactics and programmes.

- in relation to its internal organization and function, it is in agreement with the developmental model of organization of the new society, safeguarding Democratic Procedure in the evaluation, planning and the decision-making and the United View in political practice.

2. Such a political organization has the form of a radical socialist movement which in the course of change:

- a) Orients the popular forces to their essential and responsible participation and action in the centres of practice of political power.

- b) It forms, specifies and confirms popular achievements, always maintaining the reliability and modernity of the vision of new society.

- c) It becomes a field for constructing consciousness in the popular movement as a whole.

- d) It accepts and supports representative and participatory democracy; it safeguards in practice the institutional equality of political agents; it gains the vanguard of the mass movement; it respects the autonomy of institutions and their functions.

The Panhellenic Socialist Movement is ambitious to strategically integrate this historical role within the framework of the Democratic Road to Socialism.

3. Our Congress estimates that the upgrading of the role of organization in the course of change is the necessary condition for the qualitative jump in the political, social and mass influence of PA.SO.K. and for assuring unity, continuity and responsibility in the course of transition.

The transformation of the anti-Right political attitude to a creative political practice of socialist

change for our organization means:

- to pursue and safeguard a new form of political autonomy,
- to elevate itself to a centre of planning and initiatives in the course of transition,
- to define from within its sure functioning the framework of development of political initiatives of the government as well as of the mass movement,
- to formulate radically new and complex relations of political autonomy and not of replacement with the Government, the State, the mass movement, and the new institutions,
- to elevate itself to a lever of mobilization and essential participation of the people and the mass movement in political and social evolutions,
- to defend the political autonomy of evolution, formulating new political correlations in the social field.

4. Such an organization does not have the luxury of many centres of decision, of different machines within the Party, of currents of opinion and different grouping. It supports the United View on:

- the Democratic Procedure which guarantees the connection of democracy and effectiveness,
- the Synthesis and Transformation of Contradictions which guarantees the unifying role of National Popular Unity,
- the permanent characteristics of a socialist organization as we previously specified them.

Within this framework, the intra-Party democracy reaches the limits within a process of thesis/antithesis/synthesis - practice/critique/selfcritique. Further, the political autonomy of the movement is assured.

5. The Congress decides to confirm in practice, not only at the level of the political theory but also at that of political choices and alignment of forces.

The quality and the dynamic of the political practice itself recognises as worthy and ensures the physiognomy of the organization. This is also the real criterion of its political autonomy and action.

Its necessary constitutive elements are three:

a) The political practice of organization has to plan its intervention in the whole range of and the kinds of mass movements in relation to:

- their direction and orientation
- their articulation
- their autonomy

- their uniting within the bloc of National Popular Unity (E.L.E.) character.

Open Democratic Political practice and the Triptych Mass View-Mass Work-Functioning as a Mass are the tools of intervention.

b) Political practice has to unite the social forces within the organization, to unite and orientate the bloc of E.L.E. in such a way that each organization-cell is a locus constitutive of:

- political recognition
- class consciousness
- resistance to alienation

The unity and the struggle within the organization take on specific characteristics, lose their abstract and general content, and they become an element of political practice.

c) Political practice has to ensure a common ideological articulation to promote and make worthy its physiognomy within the people, to make it its property and way of life, thus achieving the guidance of the popular movement every day and in practice, acting as its vanguard.

Thus, criticism and self-criticism is transferred from the contradictions which are fed by personal and social differences and covered by an ideological and political cloak, at the level of planning and realisation of political practice in conditions of unity and struggle.

6. PA.SO.K's organizations at the base decisively contribute to the upgrading of the Movement. Alive, with initiative and a creative attitude, political cells constitute the reliable picture of PA.SO.K. in the area both of the town and the village, and the same happens with the:

- local organizations at the workplace at the heart of the productive process
- local organizations in the area of residence which is the basis of reconstructing the social network
- local organizations which transform secondary and guild contradictions at the workplace of the masses.

7. a. The regional Committees have a coordinating character and guide matters of the Movement's development.

b. The Prefectural Assembly is not only an electoral body, but also an instrument of tracing policy at the prefecture.

c. The Prefectural Committee does not replace the organizations, does not concentrate power, does not become an instrument of manipulation and connection with the state machine. It is an instrument of planning and of political guidance in the workplace of the masses, of elaboration of new institutions and active support and creative work within them and, furthermore of assignment of the first-class party-members to the base of a concrete programme of action.

d. The Sub-prefectural office becomes the link of coordinated decentralization of Party responsibility, an instrument of guidance and planning.

8. The construction of a united centre of guidance is reorientated to the new priorities on the basis of criteria which refer to:

- the functioning of instruments which ensure two-directional information-giving flexibly and effectively and increase the dynamism of the political line.
- the assignment of the members of the Central Committee - reshuffling the central committees not only at the level of persons but also as to the priorities and their functioning,

- the experience, the ability and the practice of our first-class party members at a general political level but also in their organizational ability and capability of intervening in the mass workplace.

Partial preferences

Within the framework of these general directions, in the present conditions, the Congress, based on the proposals of the members of the Congress and on the organizations, decides the following specific preferred courses for our organizational policy:

- The guiding organs plan and support views, opinions and political practices and not persons or cliques. The functioning and relation of the organs are based on relations of policy and not on personal trust.

- The construction of trade union groups in the workplace is promoted and facilitated; the achievement of political autonomy is a necessary condition for the correct functioning of trade union cadres and it avoids them becoming autonomous and defining themselves at the mass workplace.

- The effective connection of the Movement with the Government ensures a united centre of guidance, its consistency and continuity and the increasing speed of the manner that Governmental action proceeds on the basis of the directions of the Central Committee, while it upgrades Governmental unity, coherence and action.

- The organization permanently has an open ideological front against the old party attitude and agents of influence of every kind and their derivative practices as well as against every form of "societism" (supremacy of workers, technocrats and syndicalists).

- The mass attitude of organization is necessarily accompanied by procedures of assimilation and politicization of new members from within intense ideological and political work.

- The mass procedures in every branch are promoted in the most systematic and essential way and are specialised at the regional and panhellenic levels.

- Finally, the following have been decided:

- the safeguarding of conditions for stable and two-directional information-giving at all levels of the organization,

- the strengthening and improvement of the technico-material infrastructure both at the centre and the periphery,

- the construction and function of an office for ensuring that there should be an adequate flow of information to the organization, but also reliable documented support of political decisions,

- to make the functioning of the offices of the Prefectural Committee substantial.

(Extract from: PA.SO.K., Congress of PA.SO.K., Athens 1984, p.87-95)

NOTES TO PART ONE

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2. Laclau E.: 1984 "Transformations of advanced industrial societies and the theory of Subject", in Hanimmen S. and Paldan L. Rethinking Ideology, Argument, Verlag, Berlin, p.42.
3. Laclau E. "Transformations ..." ibid p.45
4. Gramsci A.: 1971 Selections From Prison Notebooks, London, Camellot, p. 52-53, 181-183, 239-264.
5. Gramsci A.: 1971 Selections... ibid p.244.
6. Gramsci A.: 1971 Selections... ibid p.57.
7. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985 Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics, London, Verso, p.99.
8. Althusser L.: 1971, Lenin and Philosophy, New York and London, Monthly Review, p.162.
9. Althusser L.: 1971 Lenin... ibid p.150.
10. Althusser L.: 1971 Lenin... ibid p.156.
11. Poulantzas N.: 1980 State, Power and Socialism, London, Verso, p.127.
12. Poulantzas N.: 1980 State... ibid p.15.
13. Poulantzas N.: 1980 State... ibid p.16.
14. Poulantzas N.: 1980 State... ibid p.17.
15. Poulantzas N.: 1980 State... ibid, p.147.
16. Poulantzas N.: 1980 State,...., ibid p.148.
17. Poulantzas N.: 1980 State,...., ibid p.128-129.
18. Poulantzas N.: 1980 State,...., ibid p.151.
19. Poulantzas N.: 1978 Classes in Contemporary Capitalism, London, Verso, p.25.
20. Poulantzas N.: 1980 State,...., ibid p.257-259.
21. Gramsci A. 1971 Selections... ibid p.181-182.
22. Poulantzas N.: 1978 Political Power and Social Classes, London, Verso, p.141.
23. Poulantzas N.: 1978 Political... Ibid p.229-240.

24. Poulantzas N.: 1978 Classes... ibid p.14 & 26.
25. Jessop B.: 1982 The Capitalist State, Oxford, Martin Robertson, p.207.
26. Poulantzas N.: 1980 State... ibid p.56.
27. Poulantzas N.: 1978 Classes... ibid p.28.
28. "There is a primacy and fundamental reproduction of social classes in and by the class struggle in which the extended reproduction of the structure operates and which governs the functioning and the role of the apparatuses" (Poulantzas 1978, Classes..., p.29).
29. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony and Socialist Strategy, London, Verso, p.126.
30. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.140.
31. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.5
32. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.103.
33. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.104.
34. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.105.
35. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.107.
36. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.108.
37. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.109.
38. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.110.
39. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.111.
40. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.109.
41. Foucault M.: 1972, Archeology of Knowledge, London, Tavistock, p. 31-39.
42. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.105-6.
43. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.125.
44. Poulantzas N.: 1978, Classes... ibid p.30.
45. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.136.
46. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.137.
47. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.138-9.
48. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.139.

49. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.140.
50. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.115.
51. Laclau E.: 1984, "Transformations..." ibid p.44.
52. Interruption involves an interdiscursive approach, which attempts to absorb or appropriate elements from the interlocutor's discourse in an open process of persuasion and debate on the terrain of the common nucleus of meaning (Silverman and Torode, 1980, The material world, London, R. & K.P., p.4-19.)
53. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.180.
54. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.140.
55. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.180.
56. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.181.
57. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.106.
58. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.106-7
59. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.106.
60. Wickham G.: 1983, "Power and Power analysis: beyond Foucault", Economy and Society, Vol.12, p.489.
61. Poulantzas N.: 1980, State... ibid p.146.
62. Poulantzas N.: 1980, State... ibid p.147.
63. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony... ibid p.189.
64. "Syntax is tactics; tactics come from tasso, from which syntasso is compounded. (For Greeks, the primary sense of ordering is preparation for war)". Staten H. Wittgenstein and Derrida, U.K., Blackwell, 1985, p.92-93.
65. Staten H.: 1985, Wittgenstein and Derrida, U.K., Blackwell, p.93.
66. "... hence one should not assume a massive and primal condition of domination, a binary structure with 'dominators' on the one side and dominated on the other, but rather a multi-form production of relations of domination, which are partially susceptible of integration into overall strategies." (Wickham :1983, ibid p.472).
67. Minson J.: 1980 "Strategies for Socialists? Foucault's conception of power", Economy and Society, v.9, p.11.

68. Wickham G.: 1983, "Power and Power analysis.." ibid p.473
69. Gordon C.: 1980, Power and Knowledge U.K., Harvester, p.142.
70. Wickham G.: 1983, "Power and...", ibid p.482.
71. Wickham G.: 1983, "Power and...", ibid p.483.
72. Wickham G.: 1983, "Power and...", ibid p.483-484.
73. Foucault, referring to normalization of the working class through the strategy of the bourgeois class, argues that "...the objective existed and the strategy was developed, with ever-growing coherence, but without it being necessary to attribute to it a subject which makes the law pronouncing it in the form of 'thou shalt' and 'thou shalt not'". Gordon C.: 1980, Power and Knowledge, U.K., Harvester Press, p.204.
74. Gordon C.: 1980, Power ..., ibid p.98.
75. Minson J.: 1980, "Strategies ...", ibid p.29.
76. Wickham G.: 1983, ibid p.472.
77. Wickham G.: 1983, ibid p.474.
78. Gordon C.: 1980, ibid p.204.
79. Tactics connected with a direct assessment and appropriation of the real conditions require greater "fronesis" (in the sense given the term by Gadamer), since they have to combine the requirements of strategy with concrete practices. The fact that Wavell considered "Tactics more important and more difficult than strategy" is characteristic. (International encyclopedia of social sciences Macmillan and Free Press, "Strategy", p.282)
80. Dreyfus H.L.- Rabinow P.:1983 M.Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, p.187.
81. "The practice of articulation, as fixation/dislocation of a system of differences cannot consist of purely linguistic phenomena; but must indeed pierce the entire material density of the multifarious institutions, rituals and practices through which a discursive formation is structured". Laclau -Mouffe: 1985, ibid p.109.
82. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony..., ibid p.109.
83. When we analyse a political situation, "the logic is perfectly clear, the aims decipherable, and yet it is often the case that no-one is there to have invented them, and few who can be said to have formulated them". Dreyfus

H.L.- Rabinow P.: 1983, p.187.

84. These three types of relationship "in fact always overlap one another, support one another reciprocally, and use each other mutually as means to an end". There is no general type of equilibrium between them; "rather there are diverse forms, diverse places, diverse circumstances and occasions, these interrelationships establish themselves". Dreyfus H.L-Rabinow P.: 1983, p.218.

85. Lash C. - Urry J.: 1984 "The new Marxism of collective action: a critical analysis", Sociology, vol.18, N.Y, February 1984, p.36.

86. Elster G.: "Reply to comments", Inquire, 1980, vol.23, p.213-232.

87. Lash C. - Urry J.: 1984 "The new Marxism...", *ibid* p.39

88. "The game starts only after the actors have been constituted and their order of preferences has been formed as a result of processes that cannot themselves be considered as part of the game". (Lush and Urry:1984, *ibid* p.42).

89. Mouzelis N.: 1978. "Ideology and class politics - a critique of Ernesto Laclau", New Left Review, v.112 p.50.

90. They are based on the dyadic patron-client relationship.

91. Bourdieu P.-Passeron J.: 1977, Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, Sage, p.167.

92. Bourdieu P.: 1977, Outline of a Theory of Practice, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p.80.

93. Bourdieu P.: 1977, Outline of..., *ibid* p.82.

94. Apple M. W.: 1982, Cultural and Economic reproduction in education, London, R. & K.P., p.107-108.

95. Bowles S.-Gintis H.: 1976, Schooling in Capitalist America, London, R. & K.P., p.11-12.

96. Bowles S.-Gintis H.: 1976, Schooling..., *ibid* p.240.

97. Bowles S.-Gintis H.: 1976, Schooling..., *ibid* p.263.

98. Bernstein B.: 1975, Class, Codes and Control, London, R. & K.P., p.185.

99. Bernstein B.: 1975, Class..., *ibid* p.175.

100. Bernstein B.: "Codes modalities and the process of

cultural reproduction", in Apple M.: 1982, Cultural and Economic reproduction, London, R. & K.P., p.336.

101. Bernstein B.: 1971, Class, Codes and Control, London, R. & K.P., p.187.

102. Bernstein B.: 1975, Class...., ibid p.186.

103. Bernstein B.: 1975, Class...., ibid p.198.

104. This is not a denial of the "reality" of objects/events. Their materiality is not questioned by the assertion that our experience of them is within discursive categories.

105. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony...., ibid p.109.

106. Jessop B.: 1982, The Capitalist State, Martin Robertson - Oxford, p.210.

107. Thompson A.: 1990, Partizans re-viewed, Ph.D.Thesis, Institute of Education, London, p20..

108. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony...., ibid p.104.

109. Laclau E.-Mouffe C.: 1985, Hegemony...., ibid, p.180.

NOTES TO PART TWO
CHAPTER ONE

1. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions of PA.SO.K's Central Committee for the Congress, Athens, p.16 and 81.
2. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, PA.SO.K's Congress, Athens p.38
3. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... *ibid.* p.165 and Papandreou A. "Marx, Lenin and the dictatorship of the Proletariat", EXORMISSI, Athens, November 1975.
4. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Declaration of Governmental Policy, Contract with the People, Athens, p.15. We can read: "PA.SO.K. is deeply attached to democratic procedures. We consider them basic presuppositions for the assurance and defence of socialist change. Deviation from the legal framework, or recourse to oppression leads to the subjection of working people to new dictators, no matter who are they."
5. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, PA.SO.K's Congress, *ibid*, p.36-37
6. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, PA.SO.K's Congress, *ibid*, p.38.
7. Communist Party of Greece: 1982, Positions of K.K.E's Central Committee for the 11th Congress, Athens, p.132 and The Programme of K.K.E., Athens, 1978, p.44.
8. Papandreou A.: "The Greek Road towards Socialism", newspaper EXORMISSI, Athens, 24 March 1977.
9. Papandreou A.: "National Independence the basic target", EXORMISSI, Athens, 18 March 1977.
10. Florakis Ch.: Pre-election speeches in newspaper NEA 14 November 1977 and newspaper VEMA, Athens, 12 November 1977.
11. "The Communist Party (essoterico) programme targets", in newspaper VEMA, Athens, 19 October 1977.
12. Mavros G.: Speech in VEMA, Athens, 1 November 1977.
13. Pesmajoglou I.: Speech in NEA, Athens, 7 November 1977.
14. Mavros G.: Speech in Verroia, in VEMA, 5 November 1977.
15. Karetsos K.: 1984, The Greeks caught in the political fish-hoaks of the Government and the Opposition in the period 1974-1983, Athens, Karetsos, p.290.
16. Karamanlis K.: His speech in VEMA, Athens, 19 Nov.1977.
17. Mouffe C.: 1979, "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci",

in Gramsci and Marxist Theory, London, R. & K.P., p.127.

18. Papandreou A.: "Message to the Greek People", in NEA, Athens, 25 July 1981 and also KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K., Contract with the People, Athens, 1981, p.7.

19. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract with the People, *ibid*, p.17 where we also read: "No decision concerning preferences for the achievement of strategic targets- it is either for National Independence or for Social Liberation- can proceed without having a wide popular consensus or can be implemented without popular participation and initiative . The People in power presupposes that we will work with the People and not in the name of the People."

20. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract..., *ibid*, p.40-41.

21. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract..., *ibid*, p.101.

22. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract..., *ibid*, p.19.

23. From the speech of the Prime Minister K.Karamanlis, in NEA, Athens, 11 November 1974.

24. Papandreou A.: 1978, speech in the 5th Central Committee, For a mass and avant-gardist Organization, Athens, p.161-162.

25. Spurdarakis M.: 1988, PA.SO.K., Structure, Interparty Crises and Concentration of Power, Athens, Exantas, p.44.

26. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions..., *ibid*, p.171-2.

27. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions..., *ibid*, p.173.

28. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Congress..., *ibid*. p.45 and also in PA.SO.K's second statute, article 8, we read: "The participation and representation of the social strata and classes, expressed politically by the Movement, at all the levels of its organizations is PA.SO.K's basic aim."

29. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Congress..., *ibid*, p.13.

30. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions..., *ibid*, p.174.

31. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Congress..., *ibid*, p.45.

32. Mouzelis N.: "Thoughts on PA.SO.K's spectacular political rise", in VEMA, Athens, 12, 15 and 16 March 1978.

33. Poulantzas N.: 1980, "Unity of the Forces of Change can be achieved", in PA.SO.K. and POWER, Thessaloniki, Paratiritis, p.417-418.

34. Andrianopoulos A.: 1980, "The political physiognomy of PA.SO.K.", in PA.SO.K. and POWER, *ibid*, p.486-488.
35. Laclau-Mouffe: 1985, Hegemony..., *ibid*, p.115.
36. Andrianopoulos A.: 1980, "The political physiognomy..", *ibid*, p.493.
37. Elefantis A.-Kavouriaris M.: "PA.SO.K.: Populism or Socialism", in POLITIS, Athens, October 1977.
38. Kotzias N.: 1984, The Third Road of PA.SO.K., Athens, Synchroni Epochi, p.124.
39. Laclau-Mouffe: 1985, ... *ibid*, p.107, 159, 169, 178.
40. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... *ibid*, p.150-151.
41. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... *ibid*, p.181.
42. Kotzias N.: 1984, The Third... *ibid*, p.155-156.
43. Spourdarakis M.: 1988, PA.SO.K., Structure... *ibid*, p.94.
44. Spourdarakis M.: 1988, ... *ibid*, p.94-95.
45. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... *ibid*, p.168.
46. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... *ibid*, p.169.
47. Spourdarakis M.: 1988, PA.SO.K.... *ibid*, p.110.
48. Elefantis A.-Kavuriaris M.: "PA.SO.K.-Socialism or Populism" in PA.SO.K. and POWER, Thessaloniki, Paratiritis, 1980, p.160.
49. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: "Political Introduction of Statute" in the Monthly bulletin of Information, May 1977.
50. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Monthly bulletin of Information, July-August 1977, p.5-6.
51. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1979, Towards a mass and avant-gardist organization, Athens, p.38.
52. Spourdarakis M.: 1988, PA.SO.K.... *ibid*, p.242.
53. Newspaper VEMA, 13 May 1984.
54. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... *ibid*, p.93.
55. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Congress... *ibid*, p.35.
56. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Congress... *ibid*, p.36.

57. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Congress... ibid, p.35. It refers to and makes a critique of the two stages which the Communist Party's tactic adopts.
58. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Congress... ibid, p.36-37.
59. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.14.
60. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Congress... ibid, p.61.
61. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... ibid, p.171.
62. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.13.
63. Papandreou A.: "For a mass..." ibid, p.182.
64. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... ibid, 174.
65. Papandreou A.: 1988, PA.SO.K. before the Present and the Future of Greece, Athens, p.44.
66. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid. p.103.
67. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.103-104.
68. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... ibid, p.89.
69. Papandreou A.: 1988, PA.SO.K. before... ibid, p.44.
70. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.70-71.
71. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.86.
72. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... ibid, p.99.
73. Newspaper VEMA, 28 October 1974.
74. Karetzos K.: 1984, The Greeks... ibid, p.126.
75. Constitution of Greece, National Press, Athens, 1977.
76. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.101, where we read: "PA.SO.K's government will make essential and will widen significantly the powers and jurisdictions which the Communities and Boroughs have got today and will safeguard their administrative self-containment and their economic self-reliance. Likewise it will proceed with the creation of the second and third grade of self-government at the level of sub-prefecture and district".
77. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.100.
78. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.105-106.
79. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.78-79.

80. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Congress... ibid, p.83.
81. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.92-93.
82. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.96.
83. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... ibid, p.61.
84. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... ibid, p.82.
85. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Congress... ibid, p.38.
86. Jessop B.: 1982, The Capitalist State, ibid, p.197.
87. Tsoukalas K.: 1987, State - Society - Work, Athens, Themelio, p.84.
88. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.22.
89. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.21.
90. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.20.
91. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... ibid, p.36-38.
92. Arsenis G.: 1987, Political Testimony, Athens, Odysseas, in p.62 we read: "The more thoughtful conservative politicians believed that the state sector should push forward developmental interventions, that is, some basic big operations should be made in order to widen production and in this way break the narrow circle of economic power; for exactly that reason Karamanlis and Papaligouras have been accused of 'socialmania'. These reformist operations have not been realised; the Minister of Economic Affairs, at that time had been removed, because the economic circles behind New Democracy did not look kindly on the openness which the development reforms would bring about."
93. From the speech of the Prime Minister K.Karamanlis, NEA, 11 november 1974.
94. Declaration of the minister of economic affairs, P. Papaligouras, VEMA, 2 February 1975.
95. Rallis G.: 1990, Political Confessions, 1950-1989, Athens, Proskynio, p.223.
96. Rallis G.: 1990, Political... ibid, p.273. Also as the guide lines of N.D. formulated in the pre-congress (April 1977): "New Democracy believes that the position of Greece is within the democratic West... It supports organically joining our country to the European Communities (the E.E.C.). It believes that by joining the politically united Europe Greece would decisively and actively influence the future of our people." In GREECE, HISTORY and CULTURE, Athens, Malliaris Paedeia, 1982,

p.207.

97. Arsenis G.: 1987, Political... *ibid*, p.67 & 223.
98. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... *ibid*, p.115.
99. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... *ibid*, p.116.
100. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... *ibid*, p.59-60.
101. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... *ibid*, p.62.
102. Karamanlis's K. speech, in NEA, 9 September 1977.
103. Rallis G.: 1990, Political..., *ibid*, p.224.
104. Kotzias K.: 1984, PA.SO.K.... *ibid*, p.369-439.
105. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Positions... *ibid*, p.63.
106. Rallis G.: 1990, Political... *ibid*, p.256.
107. From the pre-election Papandreou's speech in Patra, VEMA, 8 September 1981.
108. Law 309/1976, article 2.
109. Parliamentary proceedings, April 5, 1976, p.4021.
110. Presidential Act 831/77 (F.E.K.270A') and P.A.374/78 (F.E.K.79A'), for the new High School programme. Also P.A. 373/78 (F.E.K.79A'), for the General Lyceum programme and P.A. 784/79 (F.E.K.231A'), for the Technical Vocational Lyceum programme.
111. Koutsocheras I.: Parliamentary proceedings, April 5, 1976, p.4022.
112. Florakis Ch. and Kyrkos L., in Parliamentary... *ibid*, p.4115 & p.4132.
113. Kazamias A.: "The politics of educational reform in Greece, Law 309/76", Comparative Educational Review, vol.22, No.1, February 1978, p.98.
114. "When the time comes for new projects and new attempts the 1976 legislation will be counted as yet another chapter in this story of frustrated efforts to change the structure and the character of the Greek educational system." Kazamias A. "Symposium on Educational Reform in Greece", Comparative Educational Review, vol.22, No.1, February 1978, p.97.
115. D.O.E. (Teachers Federation of Greece): "Inspectors of the schools, an anachronistic institution which needs basic transformation", Didaskaliko (Teachers') Vema,

No.830, Athens, 15 April 1978.

116. Gerou Th.: 1981, The educational policy in 1975-1981, Athens, p.32.

117. Gerou Th.: 1981, The educational... ibid, p.38 we read: "In a democratic country, tracing directions and planning of education cannot be the responsibility of a central organ, in which permanent members moved away from the procedure of the teaching activity do their services. This is characteristic of the totalitarian regimes, where centralism is absolute."

118. Communist Party of Greece: For the Primary and Secondary Education, Synchroni Epochi, Athens, 1984, p.11.

119. Gerou Th.: 1981, The educational... ibid, p.99.

120. Gerou Th.: 1981, The educational... ibid, p.101 & 111.

121. Eliou M.: "The contradictions of the 1976 reform", in The educational reform in Greece, University of Crete, Rethymno, 1986, p.48.

122. Kazamias A.: "The politics..." ibid, p.90.

123. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.54.

124. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.49,51.

125. In the article 92 of the Governmental Declaration we read: "The expenditures for Education as well as for the National Defence are a direct priority."

126. The article 95 of the Governmental Declaration remarked: "The barriers between the different educational stages are abolished, the Technical-Vocational education is upgraded, the way of entrance examinations to Higher education institutions becomes radically different... the present entrance examinations to Lyceums, Universities and in third grade education in general are abolished".

127. The article 104 declared: "The unification of the two big groups (Elementary and Secondary teachers) which make up General Education with the relevant university level and continuous education and in-service training should be pursued, in a first phase, Higher Pedagogic Shools placing within the Universities will be founded." (For the education of the teachers of Primary and Pre-shool education, instead of the non-university level shools - Academies - of two years education, which were in force).

128. In the article 94 of the Governmental Declaration we read: "The teachers-taught relationship, the methods of teaching and the control of learning change radically. The establishment and co-operation between teachers and taught

in searching for and transmitting knowledge, would replace the monologue of the teacher seated on his chair. The respect of the pupils/students' personality and of their abilities would prevail, so that the teachers would be recognised in all the stages of education as agents of the learning procedure and not as those of the authoritarian imposition of knowledge. The present system of examinations, which transforms periodically Lyceums and Universities into examination centres would be replaced with democratic and creative methods of continuous control and assessment of learning."

129. In the Governmental Declaration (p.50) we read: "The content of studies will be connected to the productive and social process and will be adapted to the country's developmental and social needs according to the stages of education. Already from the first stage, free and creative searching, the overcoming of discrimination, the equality of the two sexes and familiarization with democratic institutions and democratic procedures will develop...The meanings but also the significance of our traditional heredity, of the wealth-producing resources of the country, of the self-reliant economic and social development are gradually introduced. Scientific knowledge is related to the right use of the country's resources and to the improvement of the quality of life at the higher stages of education."

130. Communist Party of Greece (K.K.E.): 1984, For the Primary and Secondary education, Athens, Synchroni Epochi, p.11.

131. In Themata Paedias 4, studies of the Centre of Marxist Researches 13 series II, Athens, Synchroni Epochi, 1982, p.43, we read: "The structure and the articulation of education is such that it serves class interests and not the people as a whole."

132. Communist Party of Greece: 1978, The Programme of the Communist Party, Central Committee of the Communist Party, Athens, p.37.

133. Communist Party of Greece: 1982, Propositions formulated by the Central Committee for the 11th Congress, Athens, p.61.

134. Studies of the Centre of Marxist Researches, Themata Paedias 4, ibid, p.47.

135. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.7.

136. We consider it necessary to make explicit again that this distinction to "horizontal" articulation - to other discourses and events- and "vertical" articulation - between the elements of the same discourse- does not have the meaning that the one comes first and the other

follows. Articulation is considered to be an integrated procedure through which the elements acquire their meaning. For methodological reasons only, as we have emphasised in the beginning of our study, the separated analysis of the "horizontal" articulation proceeded here.

137. Thus, the following are described as concrete practices in the field of the State: the establishment of the electoral system of simple proportional representation, the abolition of the cross indicating preference in elections of MP's, financing of the Parties, the strengthening of the legislative over the executive power, the transfer of resources and jurisdiction to local self-government, the establishment of a second and third grade of local self-government, the concrete measures for upgrading trade unionism, the establishment of concrete new institutions of social participation (Popular Assemblies, Neighbourhood Borough and Prefectural Councils and specific Councils for each sector of action of the ministries, where social agents participate in the decision-making and the control over their application).

138. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.51.

139. In the sense of the people who participate in the organs of popular participation and social control, in the institutions (establishments) of socialization and workers control.

NOTES TO PART TWO
CHAPTER TWO

1. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Propositions of PA.SO.K.'s President, A.Papandreou, in the 14th assembly of the Central Committee, Athens, p.45.
2. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Propositions of PA.SO.K.'s President... ibid, p.47.
3. Communist Party of Greece (K.K.E.): 1987, The 12th Congress Documents, the K.K.E's Central Committee, Athens, p.95.
4. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Congress... ibid, p.78.
5. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Propositions of PA.SO.K's President... ibid, p.39.
6. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions ... ibid, p.62.
7. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.28-29 and also in A.Papandreou press conference in NEA, 19 Nov.1984.
8. Valinakis J.: 1987, Foreign policy and National Defence, Thessaloniki, Paratiritis, p.318-321.
9. Valinakis J.: 1987, Foreign... ibid, p.322.
10. The Communist Party announced "that...with the new agreement the bases remain for five years and there is not any guarantee of their removal after the end of the five-year period. By signing such an agreement the Government does not keep the contract to which it had committed itself before the Greek People." (Valinakis 1987:323)
11. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Propositions of PA.SO.K's President... ibid. p.39.
12. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.34.
13. Spourdarakis M.: 1988, PA.SO.K., Structure... ibid, p.299.
14. Papandreou A.: Press conference in NEA, 19 Nov.1984.
15. Communist Party of Greece (K.K.E.): The 12th Congress.... ibid, p.95.
16. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.32.
17. The exercise of the right of VETO by the PA.SO.K. government points in the direction of bridging the North-

South divide concerning enlargement of the Community. "Greece would exercise its right of VETO on the community's enlargement, if the demands related to the community's restrictions are not satisfied." (Papandreou A. press conference in VEMA, 31/3/1985).

18. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.33.

19. Rallis G., then Prime-minister of N.D., VEMA, 15/10/1989.

20. The Communist Party of Greece: The 12th Congress... ibid, p.133.

21. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.30.

22. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.31.

23. "We hope that politicians will exist in Turkey as well who will finally understand that the only possibility for both peoples is the solution of the problems by dialogue" (From the N.D's election programme) and also: "The Coalition (K.K.E. and K.K.E.'essoteriko') believes that the relations with the Turkey can be faced with peaceful dialogue..." (From the Coalition's election programme),

24. "...then we would have no objection to proceeding to a dialogue with Turkey under the simple condition that neither we nor they will place in dispute the existing status of the Aegean Sea." (Papandreou A., press conference for Greek journalists and foreign correspondents, NEA, 3 April 1985).

25. In the Preamble to the relevant proposition it was said that the modification of these clauses "would emancipate popular dominance and parliamentary institutions. Its targets are:... strengthening popular dominance... reinforcement of Parliamentarism...making stronger the role of the Parliament... strengthening the government as coming from the people... reinforcement of the prestige of the political parties... the disengagement of the President of the Republic from Party contradictions." (NEA, 10 March 1985).

26. In relation to Constitutional reform, the former Prime-minister of N.D., G. Rallis, said: "It falsifies the democratic regime and overturns the balance of the constitutional order by converting the President of the Republic to a puppet proper only to be present at inaugurations and parades and unable to exercise the role of regulator of the high-handed ways of the executive power." (VRADINI, 12 March 1985) and by Mitsotakis K., the now Prime-minister of N.D., it was said that: "The Greek Republic is converted, in essence, to a totalitarian State." (VRADINI, 12 March 1985).

27. Communist Party of Greece: Propositions... ibid, p.68.
28. Communist Party of Greece: Propositions... ibid, p.71.
29. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Institutional changes and Socialist Transformation, meeting of the 10th assembly PA.SO.K's Central Committee, p.76.
30. Andrianopoulos A.: 1988, The Triumph of Democratic Capitalism, Athens, Libro, p.168.
31. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: Institutional changes... ibid, p.46.
32. Laliotis K.: "PA.SO.K. facing the old - the crisis and the new", Socialist Theory and Practice, vol.6-7, June-July 1988.
33. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, The Work of Change, Athens, p.92.
34. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, The Work... ibid, p.106-107.
35. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, The Work... ibid, p.110.
36. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, The Work... ibid, p.94.
37. Communist Party of Greece: Propositions... ibid, p.75.
38. Communist Party of Greece: Propositions... ibid, p.88.
39. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.128.
40. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p. 133.
41. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.134.
42. Spourdarakis M.: 1988, PA.SO.K., Structure... ibid, p.308.
43. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.135.
44. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.101.
45. We use the term "Partyization" in the sense of the seizure of state posts by the Party officials, members and followers.
46. Communist Party of Greece: 1982, Propositions... ibid, p.30-31.
47. Newspaper NEA, 22 November 1989.

48. Newspaper VEMA, "Ten years PA.SO.K." 13 May 1984.
49. Four of PA.SO.K.'s MP's resigned: Petsos (Deputy minister of Defence), Chondrocoukis, Bouloukos and Panagoulis (Deputy minister of Domestic affairs).
50. Papandreou's speech at the meeting of 4,000 Party-officials of the Movement, MESIMVRINI, 1 February 1982.
51. In addition to the intra-Party instructions, PA.SO.K. organised a series of meetings of its leading Party members where the spirit of main speaker's (Papandreou's) speeches aimed at reducing the interventions of the Movement in governmental action. (NEA, 4 October 1982, VEMA, 28 November 1982).
52. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.153-155.
53. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1983, Institutional changes... ibid, p.134-135.
54. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1983, Institutional changes... ibid, p.140.
55. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Congres... ibid, p.92.
56. Kontzias N.: 1984, The Third Road... ibid, p.132.
57. Mouzelis N.: "Thoughts on PA.SO.K.'s spectacular political rise", VEMA, 12 March 1978.
58. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1983, Institutional changes... ibid, p.145.
59. Kontzias N.: 1984, The Third Road... ibid, p.144.
60. Article 55 of the statute of the Communist Party of Greece.
61. Spourdarakis M.: 1988, PA.SO.K., Structure... ibid, p.308.
62. Spourdarakis M.: 1988, PA.SO.K., Structure... ibid, p.302.
63. Newspaper NEA, Research concerning the Parties, 10 Octob. 1984.
64. Aeolus was the God of the Winds in the Ancient Greek Mythology.
65. Communist Party of Greece: 1982, Propositions... ibid, p.16.
66. Communist Party of Greece: 1982, Propositions... ibid, p.133.

67. Communist Party of Greece: 1982, Propositions... ibid, p.27.

68. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Congress... ibid, p.53-54.

69. The leader of New Democracy argued that PA.SO.K. "is being dragged into elections bearing the stigma of contravener of democratic legality and incredibly ... it lost the battle ethically and politically... democratic citizens do not trust it..." (Mitsotakis's speech at Syntagma square, NEA, 6 April 1985.

70. Communist Party of Greece: 1982, Propositions... ibid, p.28.

71. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.33 and Congress... ibid, p.57.

72. The Communist Party also seems to recognise this when it confesses: "We did not completely avoid the trap of mechanically and technically separating demands into the 'economic' and the 'institutional'. The result was at least in specific cases to underestimate the capability of the working people to resist the government's policy of austerity and authoritarianism, which negates the satisfaction of urgent economic demands, which the employee's are fighting for juxtaposing them with institutional demands". (The K.K.E's 12th Congress, p.61).

73. Agora, vol.2, 22 June 1987, p.42.

74. Maroudas D. (PA.SO.K's government representative) commenting on Mitsotakis speech at Syntagma square, NEA, 6 April 1985.

75. Communist Party of Greece: 12th Congress... ibid, p.128-129.

76. Communist Party of Greece: 12th Congress... ibid, p.129.

77. Newspaper NEA, "Research on the Parties", 10 Oct. 1984.

78. Papandreou's press conference in NEA, 18 October 1984.

79. Papandreou A.: 1988, PA.SO.K. before the present and the future of Greece, Athens, KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K., p.39.

80. According to PA.SO.K., "every institution reflects a point of balance and a framework of acceptance between two opposed poles, where the old one is compatible with the dispute of the new and the new is compatible temporarily with the new achieved limits" (KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.:

Congress... ibid, p.40). P.A.S.O.K. thus, through its practices in the institutions, attempted to strengthen the conditions for a continuous promotion of a "point of balance and a frame of acceptance" and not to directly overthrow the "existing point of balance".

81. Law 1505/84, through which an automatic rate of payment and promotion was established (Eniaio Misthologio-Vathmologio) according to which civil servants are promoted automatically every two years.

82. As to the effectiveness of the public administration, despite the founding and function of the Centre of Public administration and other measures taken, P.A.S.O.K. itself is not satisfied. The then Minister of National Economy G.Arsenis (1987:40-41) criticised the Law 1505/84 (see the above reference) which according to him levelled out the structure of the state administration. In his opinion, apart from the basic salary, the promotion of a civil servant (who should have economic and grade profits) should be related to his/her performance and dynamism. Emphasising the need for further changes he said: "We cannot proceed to a transformation of society without having transformed the state administration."

83. Lazaris A.: 1989, What Socialism?, Athens, Themelio, p.237-242.

84. Lazaris A.: 1989, What Socialism? ibid, p.240.

85. Simitis K.: 1989, Development and Modernization of the Greek society, Athens, Gnossi, p.15.

86. Mitsotakis's speech, in NEA, 6 March 1985.

87. From the discussion of the five-year programme in Parliament, NEA, 6 December 1984.

88. Petmezidou M.: "The State function a period of crisis", introduction in a congress foundation of S.Karageorgas, Athens, 1989.

89. Communist Party of Greece: 1982, Propositions... ibid, p.36.

90. P.A.S.O.K.'s government through the Law 1365/83 socialized the state enterprises and the problematic ones in the private sector. Also, it did not proceed with the socialization of the Mass Media eventhough through its Law 1288/82, which replaced the Law 230/75, it secured the more democratic function of E.R.T. (Hellenic Broadcasting and Television Service).

91. Papandreou A.: 1988, P.A.S.O.K. before... ibid, p.44.

92. KEMEDIA-P.A.S.O.K.: 1984, The Work... ibid, p.27.

93. Through the "Memorandum", P.A.S.O.K.'s government aimed at specific arrangements for Greece. Within this framework it fought for the application of M.O.P.'s (Mediterranean Integrated Programmes) which aimed at the convergence of the economies between "North and South". P.A.S.O.K.'s government exercised the right of VETO as to the other countries joining the E.E.C. (e.g. Portugal) in order to press it to apply the M.O.P.'s.

94. KEMEDIA-P.A.S.O.K.: 1981, Contract... ibid, p.62.

95. We use the abbreviations K.K.E. and N.D. to denote the Communist Party of Greece and New Democracy respectively.

96. KEMEDIA-P.A.S.O.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.33.

97. In 1980, investment noted a fall in the range of - 6.5%, in 1981 -7.8%, in 1983 -1.4% and 1985 there appear for first time positive indices 2.1%. (Zolotas X., interview VEMA 23 September 1984 and Arsenis G. 1987:94)

98. Speech of the Prime Minister, A.Papandreou, to the ministerial cabinet on October 14th 1985.

99. We simply mention the Law 1365/83 through which the socialization of the Public Enterprises of Common Welfare (D.E.K.O) took place.

100. "...through the rural Associations they aim to take the land from you... New Democracy, faithful to its liberal ideology, will immediately abolish the illiberal collectivist legal acts of the rural Law on the rural Associations..." (From K. Mitsotakis speech in Larissa KATHIMERINI, 29 April 1985.

101. Newspaper NEA, research on the Parties, 10 October 1984.

102. These measures of tax relief considered to have only an occasional character (Siomopoulos I. VEMA 28/4/85 and also Papazoglou M. "Mitsotakis deceives the people", NEA, 24 April 1985.

103. From K.Mitsotakis speech in Larissa KATHIMERINI, 29 April 1985.

104. From the pre-election programme of New Democracy, Athens, 1985.

105. The reaction of the Trade Union Organizations to the N.D's programme was "In the election of MP's, the answer of the employees will be given to N.D., which through its governmental programme on the economy identified itself absolutely with the interests of the big capital and the

monopolies..." (NEA 24 April 1985). And also: "New Democracy... took care to inform the employees that if they voted for it, they would secure a series of anti-democratic measures, which would start with the restriction of state social expenditure and increase in the prices of the welfare Organization to the liberation of dismissals in the state sector as much as in the private sector and the freezing of wages." (Tzanetakis B. NEA, 2 April 1985).

106. Speech of Florakis Ch. on the celebration for the ten years of legal issue of newspaper "RISOSPASTIS", NEA, 1 October 1984.

107. Some of the points of its critique were: the non-socialization of the Bank Credit system; the motives given through the Law 1262/82 to investment; the lack of any great activation of the organs of popular participation including the advisory councils; the socialization of state enterprises (AVGI TIS KYRIAKIS, 20/9/87); worker's control, arguing that since the property of the means of production remained that of private people, even if it was converted from individual ownership to collective this bore no relation to Socialism. However, at the same time, it was accepted that this attempt "includes many positive democratic elements." (Kontzias N. 1984:485). K.K.E. also criticised the Democratic Planning applied by PA.SO.K. which aimed indirectly at enlisting within it the private sector as well, leaving room for its own preferences.

108. Florakis Ch. press-conference, NEA, 9 December 1984.

109. KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: 1984, Positions... ibid, p.59.

110. Arsenis G. 1987, Political... ibid, p.95.

111. The students' union e.g. linked to K.K.E. accepted that the abolition of the Chair (EDRA) and its replacement by the Sector (TMEMA) was a crucial point concerning democratization, even though they asked for an increase in students' participation in the Sectors, the construction of democratic internal regulations of the A.E.I.'s by the Senate, the abolition of the one and only set book and for further democratic upgrading of the A.E.I.'s (Rapti S. "The students elections", VEMA, 17 March 1985).

112. Tsatsos D., (professor, who belongs to the field of the Left outside PA.SO.K.) pointed out: "The Law 1268/82 had been examined in practice...its positive components (democratization, students' participation etc) were proved. These should be preserved. However, its application revealed weaknesses either of its own, or concerning the tragic situation in the university field (teachers-taught)...Thus, let us start now a re-examination of some subjects." (Tsatsos D. "To say the

truth about universities", NEA, 6 October 1990).

113. "The new institution belongs to a broad range of developmental measures which aim at autonomous economic development. It helps the country to join the technological revolution, currently getting under way and constitutes a reliable educational and social investment in the future of our youth". (KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K.: The Work of change, 1984, Athens, p.19).

114. The inspector practiced "administration, inspection, guidance, supervision and control over the schools and their staff of its region, being administrative and disciplinary superior" (Law 309/76 articles 20 & 40).

115. According to the article 1, Law 1304/82, "his task is scientific-pedagogic guidance and his participation in the evaluation and the in-service training of the teachers, as well as the encouraging of every attempt at making scientific research in the field of education."

116. "The setting up of the Unitary Multilateral Lyceums and their function since this year constitutes a landmark on the road towards educational change in our country...it contributes to securing... a responsible and integrated knowledge and at the same time a relation to production and economy." (The president of Organization of the teachers of Secondary Education, NEA, 20 September 1984).

117. The Post-Lyceum Centres were established through the Law 1304/82, articles 26, 27. PA.SO.K. and Synaspismos (K.K.E & K.K.E essoteriko) reacted strongly against the later N.D.'s governmental decision to abolish these Post Lyceum Centres. (NEA, 2/9/1990).

118. According to this system, the candidates can opt for the module of subjects which they will attempt- beyond the core subjects- for their examination during the general examinations for entrance in A.E.I.'s. The increase noted in the number of entered the A.E.I.'s and T.E.I.'s is characteristic: From 27,500 in 1981 to 50,500 in 1984 (KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K., The Work of change, p.20).

119. Presidential Acts 583/82, 449/83, 168/84, 518/84, 598/85.

120. As to the effectiveness of the new textbooks and especially of the "programme of language instruction" the results of later research done by the pedagogic department of Thessaloniki University (June 1990) are positive. "Improvement of the pupils' language achievements is ascertained and this finding is significant... The positive influence of the new programmes greater in pupils from lower socio-economic strata and with lower school achievements, which means that the new programme functions is a compensatory way to cultural and social

inequalities...a programme of this breadth and based on contemporary scientific bases is applied in Greece for first time." ("How the ancient Greek language and youth without language-fluency are responsible for the verbal poverty of the Greek people" written by Ch.Tsolakis, professor of the University of Thessaloniki, in NEA, 13 August 1991.

121. Law 1268/82, article 46.

122. The teachers' in-service training can take place within the school itself but also at the regional In-service Training Centres (P.E.K.) for which provision was made by the Law 1566/85.

123. Mavrogeorgos G. "Educational reforms, Technocracy and Technical Control: the case of the new textbooks of the Elementary School", Contemporary Education, No.21 March-April 1985, p.16.

124. Kazamias A.: "The politics of educational reform in Greece - Law 309/74", Comparative Educational Review, vol.22, No.1, February 1978, p.35.

125. PA.SO.K. argued that the measures of upgrading the quality of education have already led to a restriction of private education, which in 1981 we had 744 school units General and Technical education and in 1984 they were restricted to 522 ones. (KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K., The Work... ibid, p.22).

126. In 1984 this increase reached the percentage of 24.6% in stable values above the corresponding expenditures in 1981. (KEMEDIA-PA.SO.K., The Work... ibid, p.23).

127. Presidential Act 583/82.

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